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**PROCEEDINGS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE YEAR
1919-1920**

**PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION**

**VOLUME X, PART II
FOR
THE YEAR 1919-1920**



**THE TORCH PRESS
CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA
1921**

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THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

PREFACE

According to custom the board of editors of the *Mississippi valley historical review* present herewith the PROCEEDINGS of the Mississippi valley historical association for the year 1919-1920. At the meeting at Greencastle, Indiana, there were twenty papers read, and four others at the joint meeting at Cleveland with the American historical association. Of these, five have already been printed elsewhere and are therefore not included, twelve are herewith published, and the others have been withheld by the authors. A full description of the papers read at Greencastle is contained in the account of the meeting written by Mr. Oliver. Besides the regular papers there is to be found in this number the interesting report on historical libraries in the high schools of the Valley.

C. W. A.

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CONSTITUTION¹

I — NAME

The name of this organization shall be the Mississippi valley historical association.

II — OBJECT

The object of the association shall be to promote historical study and research and to secure coöperation between the historical societies and the departments of history of the Mississippi valley.

III — MEMBERSHIP

Membership in this association shall be divided into three classes, namely: active, sustaining, and life members. Any one interested in the study of Mississippi valley history may become a member in any of these classes upon payment of dues hereinafter provided.

IV — OFFICERS

The officers of the association shall be a president, and a secretary-treasurer, who with nine other active members, and such ex-presidents of the association as retain their membership therein, shall constitute the executive committee. Providing that all ex-presidents who have served on the executive committee for six consecutive years shall from and after that time no longer be ex-officio members of the executive committee.

The president, secretary-treasurer, and three members of the executive committee shall be elected at the annual meeting each year. The president and secretary-treasurer shall hold office for one year, the members of the executive committee for three years or until their successors are elected and have qualified.

The executive committee shall have general charge of the affairs of the association, including the calling of meetings and selection of papers to be read. Five members of the executive

¹ As amended at the thirteenth annual meeting, April, 1920.

committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

At the first meeting of the executive committee after the annual election, one of its members shall be selected as chairman of the executive committee. It shall be his duty to preside at meetings of the committee and, in the absence of the president, at meetings of the association, and he shall succeed to the office of president in case of a vacancy.

V — MEETINGS

A regular annual meeting and a mid-year meeting of the association shall be held on such dates and at such places as the executive committee may determine.

VI — DUES

The annual dues for individual active members shall be three dollars. The annual dues for library members shall be four dollars. Sustaining members — either individuals or institutions — shall pay five dollars annually. Any individual may become a life member upon the payment of one hundred dollars.

VII — AMENDMENTS

This constitution may be amended at any regular meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at a previous meeting, or the proposed amendments having received the approval of the executive committee.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES FOR THE YEAR 1919-1920

MILO M. QUAIFE, *President*
MRS. CLARENCE S. PAINE, *Secretary-Treasurer*
Lincoln, Nebraska

Executive Committee

In addition to the officers named above

Ex-Presidents

ISAAC J. COX (1921), *Chairman*

DUNBAR ROWLAND (1922)	ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT (1924)
FREDERIC L. PAXSON (1923)	HARLOW LINDLEY (1925)

Elected

HOMER C. HOCKETT (1920)	WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY (1921)
ORIN G. LIBBY (1920)	LOUIS PELZER (1921)
ALBERT H. SANFORD (1920)	SOLON J. BUCK (1922)
CHAUNCEY S. BOUCHER (1921)	CHARLES W. RAMSDELL (1922)
ROYAL B. WAY (1922)	

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ROLLA M. TRYON (1920), *Chairman*

HOWARD C. HILL (1921), *Secretary*
University of Chicago High School

OSCAR H. WILLIAMS (1920)	FRANCES MOREHOUSE (1922)
WALDO F. MITCHELL (1921)	EUGENE M. VIOLETTE (1922)

Finance Committee

ISAAC J. COX, *Chairman*

MILO M. QUAIFE CLARENCE W. ALVORD

MRS. CLARENCE S. PAINE

Appointive Committees

Membership Committee — Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, Lincoln, Nebraska, chairman; M. L. Bonham, Jr., Archibald Henderson, Margaret J. Mitchell, O. A. Rothert, O. L. Schmidt.

Committee on Standardizing Library Work and Library Equipment for History in Secondary Schools — Howard C. Hill, Chicago, chairman; T. C. Blegen, W. L. Fleming, A. H. Hirsch, Alma Hurst, Gertrude Ligon, F. E. Melvin, Margaret J. Mitchell, Alma Penrose, Bessie L. Pierce, A. H. Sanford, Elizabeth Thorndyke, R. M. Tryon, O. H. Williams.

Committee on the Erection of Memorials and the Marking of Historic Sites — William E. Connelley, Topeka, Kansas, chairman; W. C. Cochran, A. H. Davison, Logan Esarey, George N. Fuller, Archibald Henderson, Theodore Jack, Chancellor Jenks, P. V. Lawson, O. G. Libby, C. H. McClure, Mrs. C. S. Paine, B. S. Patterson, Doane Robinson, O. A. Rothert, W. O. Scroggs, A. H. Stone, Warren Upham.

Committee on Historical Museums in Educational Institutions — Edward C. Page, DeKalb, Illinois, chairman; A. H. Hirsch, C. E. Pray, J. M. McConnell, Lucy Simmons, J. A. Woodburn.

Committee on Public Historical Museums — Melvin R. Gilmore, Bismarck, North Dakota, chairman; H. A. Kellar, James Mooney, H. J. Webster, H. M. Whelpley.

Committee on the Administration of State Historical Activities — Harlow Lindley, Richmond, Indiana, chairman; E. B. Greene, Louise P. Kellogg, J. W. Oliver, F. C. Shoemaker.

Committee on Nominations — Albert H. Sanford, LaCrosse, Wisconsin, chairman; O. G. Libby, O. L. Schmidt.

Program Committee — J. W. Oliver, Indianapolis, chairman; T. C. Blegen, W. J. Chase, O. M. Dickerson, W. L. Fleming, P. L. Haworth.

Local Committee on Arrangements — William W. Sweet, chairman, Katherine S. Alvord, C. H. Barnaby, W. W. Carson, George R. Grose, Robert G. McCutchan, Martha Ridpath, and Jesse W. Weik, all of Greencastle, Indiana; Logan Esarey, Bloomington, Indiana; Lawrence Gipson, Crawfordsville, Indiana; Frank B. Wynn, Charles F. Coffin, Indianapolis; T. F. Moran, Paul T. Smith, Lafayette, Indiana.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES FOR THE YEAR 1920-1921

CHAUNCEY S. BOUCHER, *President*
MRS. CLARENCE S. PAINE, *Secretary-Treasurer*
Lincoln, Nebraska

Executive Committee

In addition to the officers named above

Ex-Presidents

MILO M. QUAIFFE (1926), *Chairman*

ISAAC J. COX (1921)	FREDERIC L. PAXSON (1923)
DUNBAR ROWLAND (1922)	ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT (1924)
HARLOW LINDLEY (1925)	

Elected

WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY (1921)	CHARLES W. RAMSDELL (1922)
THOMAS M. MARSHALL (1921)	ROYAL B. WAY (1922)
LOUIS PELZER (1921)	GUY STANTON FORD (1923)
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Executive Committee of the Teachers' Section

J. R. H. MOORE (1923), *Chairman*
HOWARD C. HILL (1921), *Chairman*
University of Chicago High School

WALDO F. MITCHELL (1921)	EUGENE M. VIOLETTE (1922)
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Finance Committee

CHAUNCEY S. BOUCHER	CLARENCE W. ALVORD
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Appointive Committees

Membership Committee — J. H. A. Lacher, Waukesha, Wisconsin, chairman; Archibald Henderson, D. R. Herndon, Mrs. C. S. Paine, O. A. Rothert, O. L. Schmidt.

- Committee on Standardizing Library Work and Library Equipment for History in Secondary Schools* — Howard C. Hill, Chicago, chairman; W. J. Fleming, A. H. Hirsch, Gertrude Ligon, F. E. Melvin, Margaret J. Mitchell, Mrs. C. S. Paine, Alma Penrose, Bessie L. Pierce, C. E. Pray, A. H. Sanford, R. M. Tryon, E. M. Violette, O. H. Williams.
- Committee on Historical Museums in Educational Institutions* — Edward C. Page, DeKalb, Illinois, chairman; A. H. Hirsch, J. M. McConnell, C. E. Pray, Lucy Simmons, J. A. Woodburn.
- Committee on Public Historical Museums* — Melvin R. Gilmore, Bismarck, North Dakota, chairman; H. A. Kellar, James Mooney, H. J. Webster, H. M. Whelpley.
- Committee on the Administration of State Historical Activities* — Solon J. Buck, St. Paul, chairman; W. E. Connelley, G. N. Fuller, J. W. Oliver, J. C. Parish, F. C. Shoemaker.
- Committee on the Teaching of State History in the High School* — Eugene M. Violette, St. Louis, Missouri, chairman; C. W. Alvord, J. E. Bradford, W. O. Lynch, L. B. Shippee, D. C. Shilling.
- Committee on Nominations* — Isaac J. Cox, Evanston, Illinois, chairman; M. M. Quaife, M. J. White.
- Program Committee* — Homer C. Hockett, Columbus, Ohio, chairman; G. N. Fuller, T. J. Jack, Margaret J. Mitchell, F. F. Stephens.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association was held at DePauw university, Greencastle, Indiana, on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, April 29, 30, and May 1, 1920. In point of interest aroused by the papers and discussions, and in point of attendance, it was by far the most successful meeting ever held in the history of the association. Over two hundred visitors and members were present during the three day session.

To the committee on local arrangements, of which Professor W. W. Sweet was chairman, and to the faculty of DePauw university, special credit is due for the successful manner in which the visitors and delegates were entertained. The dormitories, fraternity houses, and several private homes were thrown open, at a nominal cost, to the members of the association; and a dinner, a smoker, and receptions were tendered to all guests as a part of their entertainment. On Saturday morning, May 1, the local committee on arrangements took the visiting members on an automobile trip to Lafayette, where a luncheon was served by Purdue university. After luncheon a visit was made to the old Tippecanoe battlegrounds, ten miles north of Lafayette.

THE PROGRAM

The four papers read at the opening session on Thursday morning, while of a miscellaneous nature, were exceptionally interesting. The first paper, entitled "Timber culture acts," by William F. Raney, of the University of Louisville, dealt in part with one phase of the history of the public domain. The writer showed how, under the first timber culture act passed in 1875, a citizen might acquire title to a quarter section of land by planting forty acres with trees and caring for them for ten years. Five years later the act was amended, and the number of acres that had to be planted was reduced to ten, and a provision inserted that at the end of eight years, there had to be six hundred

seventy-five growing trees to the acre. Many abuses developed: entries were made simply to hold the land from other farmers; entrymen would decide to pre-empt or homestead the land; and cattle kings would make timber culture entries simply to have free grazing lands. A fight for the repeal of the acts finally succeeded in 1891, after some ten million acres had passed into private hands. Provision was made for commutation in cash, and all business under the acts was finally settled during the year ending June 30, 1909.

The second paper, entitled "The soldier vote in Iowa in the election of 1888," by Donald L. McMurray of the University of Iowa, showed how strong the civil war traditions were in that state during the late eighties. The political power wielded by the 40,000 survivors of the union army was enormous. Nearly 18,000 of the veterans in Iowa were members of the G. A. R., which furnished a means for expressing their political preference. The G. A. R. claimed to be, and in its official capacity tried to be, a non-political organization. But its interest in pension legislation, and its preference for veterans in the civil service, combined with the strongly sectional type of patriotism which its members inherited from the war, made it inevitably a political influence when these issues became prominent. The republican press in that strongly republican state confirms the opinion that public sentiment endorsed the demands of the soldiers for more pensions, more civil service positions, and more elective offices. While both parties claimed to be the friends of the soldiers, the republicans offered greater inducements to the veterans by condemning the democrats' alleged lack of patriotism, and by favoring a more liberal pension policy. The soldier issue probably played a greater part in obtaining the republican victory in Iowa than any other issue except the tariff.

The next paper, entitled, "An historical detective story," by Jacob P. Dunn, secretary of the Indiana historical society, was a study of the case of Jeffrey Nash, a negro held in slavery in Indiana territory, who was freed by the supreme court of Louisiana. The writer took issue with Dr. M. M. Quaife, who in his *Chicago and the old northwest*, maintains, as does E. W. Prussing in his article on "Chicago's first great lawsuit," that the bill of sale under which Nash was held as a slave was a forgery,

because a few months after its date, his owners, Kinzie and Forsyth, of Chicago, induced him to bind himself to them as an apprentice. Mr. Dunn explained this action as due to a misunderstanding of the indenture law of Indiana territory, adopted in 1803, under which slaves were brought into the territory bound as apprentices, but which did not affect slaves already here. His view was that the owners of Nash, whom he declared to have been a slave in fact, had heard of the law, but had not seen it, and apprenticed their man as a precaution. The paper was in the form of a story of the steps by which he reached his conclusions. The writer said that the solution of historical problems was really detective work, and advised students of history to read the novels of Gaboriau, who lays down the rule: "In a mysterious case, suspect what seems probable; investigate carefully what seems improbable, or even impossible." He condemned as fallacious the maxim of Sherlock Holmes: "If you can eliminate all the theories in a case but one, that one must be true," because one may have never thought of the true theory at all.

E. Merton Coulter of the University of Georgia read a paper on "Elijah Clarke's foreign intrigues and the Trans-Oconee republic." The writer showed how difficult it was to force foreign nations to respect the political independence of the United States government during the first years of its existence. Because of the attitude of certain adventurous Americans, it was an easy matter to plan intrigues. Elijah Clarke's name is connected with two of these schemes. In the first, he was connected with Genêt in his threatened attempt to capture East and West Florida. Clarke, a soldier of the revolution, was to secure all aid possible from Georgia; and, discontented with Indian affairs and the land situation, several Georgians fell in with his scheme. But with Genêt's recall the plan collapsed. With the close of the venture, Clarke found himself in command of several groups of men on the Oconee river, and he decided to cross over into the Indian territory west of the river, and set up an independent government. He instituted a frame-work of government, laid out towns, established forts, and made himself the civil and military head. The federal government now decided to oppose his action, and the governor of Georgia ordered him arrested. This

ended his project, but did not dishonor him in the eyes of Georgians.

The year 1920 being the tercentenary of the landing of the pilgrim fathers, the program committee had arranged for a group of papers commemorating some phases of the puritan life. The first paper, by Carl Russell Fish of the University of Wisconsin, was entitled "The pilgrim and the melting pot." Attention was called to the fact that in celebrating the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the pilgrim fathers, one naturally reflects on the locust-like numbers of the pilgrims that have subsequently landed on the American shores. The question arises as to whether they have not actually obliterated the first pilgrims, and whether too little attention has not been devoted to the later comers. The writer pointed out, however, that when one studies the processes of immigration, it becomes apparent that influence and numbers are not identical. In particular, the individual has counted for little compared with the community as a germ of civilization, and the community of the first pilgrims brought not only settlers, but also a social system. The similarity that characterizes immigrants, as contrasted with stay-at-homes, was pointed out, and it was shown that the later pilgrims found the traditions of the earlier ones quite congenial. Hence it has happened that the pilgrims of Plymouth have not been submerged, but have formed a real kernel for the adaptation of English civilization to the conditions of the northern United States.

A most original and suggestive paper entitled, "The undertow of puritan influence," was read by Albert L. Kohlmeier, of Indiana university. The writer admitted the positive influence of puritanism in American history to have been the furthering of idealism in government, religion, and social life. He contended, however, that the puritans were responsible for certain very different practices; that is, for the so-called materialism and nationalism of Americans. This was accounted for by pointing out three facts. First, when the puritan could not attain his ideal, he did not abandon the ideal, but explained his action in words that would make the act seem to conform the ideal. Second, the puritan by his insistence on his own ideas drove some men to the opposite. Third, the puritan looked upon the

elect as such favored creatures that he felt that God would bless them with material prosperity.

Under the title, "Introspections of a belated puritan," Solon J. Buck read selections from the manuscript journal of Lucien C. Boynton, which was found in Springfield, Illinois, some nine years ago. The volume covers the years from 1834 to 1853, and contains a wealth of valuable information about life and conditions in New England and Virginia. Its principal interest, however, lies in its revelation of the character and temperament of the writer. He began the journal when, at the age of twenty-four, he was a student at Andover theological seminary. Failing to find a church after his graduation, he drifted into school teaching, and later took up the study of law. The journal records his reactions to various problems, both theological and secular, and displays a character of great reality and of interest not only as a survival of seventeenth century puritanism but as an example of undated and almost unadulterated egotism.

In a paper on "The Moravian mission settlement in Indiana," read by Arthur W. Brady of Anderson, Indiana, a brief account was given of the mission which the Moravians undertook to establish between 1800 and 1806, among the Delaware Indians on White river in Indiana. The mission was an outgrowth of missions to the Delawares which the Moravians had carried on since about 1740, first in Pennsylvania and later on the Muskingum, in Ohio. The mission was established on White river a short distance from the site of Anderson, Madison county, Indiana. The Indians at first appeared to welcome the missionaries, but later became unfriendly. Finally, after Tecumseh's brother assumed the roll of prophet, he called upon the Indians to resume the ways of their ancestors and reject the customs of the whites. A number of Indians, particularly those opposed to the prophet and his faction, were charged with witchcraft and put to death. The hostility of the Indians became such that the mission was abandoned in 1806. Diaries and letters preserved in the archives of the Moravians at Bethlehem are the principal source of information concerning the mission. Translations of these papers will be published soon by the Indiana historical society.

On Thursday evening Milo M. Quaife of the state historical

society of Wisconsin delivered the president's address, on "Jonathan Carver and the Carver grant." Carver was the first Englishman to visit and report upon the region west of the Great lakes, including the upper Mississippi valley. He made his journey in the summer of 1767 in pursuance of a project to open an overland route of trade and travel, connecting the Great lakes with the Pacific coast and thence with China. While he of course failed in his ambitious object, he spent two valuable years exploring the territory included in what is now Wisconsin and Minnesota, and the land along the northern side of Lake Superior. The results of his explorations, his *Travels*, were published in 1778, in London. In recent years, much doubt has been expressed as to the truth of his reported discoveries. In presenting his paper, Dr. Quaife summed up all the facts that are at present available concerning Carver's life and the Carver grant. Among other things he showed for the first time the real facts concerning the death of Carver, and his relations with Dr. Lettson, who brought out the third edition of his *Travels*. The writer also gave a brief history of the Carver grant and explained the activities of Dr. Samuel Peters in connection with the movement.

The president's address was followed by musical numbers, by the DePauw university school of music.

The meeting of the history teachers' section occupied the entire program for the Friday forenoon session. In the absence of Howard C. Hill, chairman of the committee on standardization of library equipment, the report of the committee was read by Oscar H. Williams. The report was regarded as only tentative; it has since been arranged in final form and is published in this number of the PROCEEDINGS.

In presenting a paper on "The use, the abuse, and the writing of text-books in American history," Wilmer C. Harris of Butler college advocated the use of the text-book rather than a syllabus and reference readings. The text-book should not be regarded as infallible; it should be discussed and criticised freely. Text-book writers were urged to devote more attention to war time conditions. The speaker declared that future generations would also experience wars, and said that they should have a full

understanding of what war time conditions mean. He insisted, however, that history should be kept free from contemporary propaganda. The teaching of citizenship and Americanism can best be accomplished by teaching the history of the American people, and an appreciation of their ideals. The part played in this country today by the Christian church is so important, that it should receive more attention from text-book writers.

Herriot C. Palmer, of Franklin, Indiana, read a paper on "What should be the effects of the war on the teaching of history?" She stated that the war would affect history in three aspects: first, the appreciation of history; second, its interpretation; third, its content. With the outbreak of the war, history was called upon to make it intelligible. Such an appreciation justifies history's claim for a larger place in the curriculum. In interpretation, the scientific method was used by students and teachers. In content the effects of the war will demand: (a) a clearer conception of the fact that the economic, industrial, social, and moral concerns of men are more vital to the welfare of society than are political organization and protective strength; (b) an emphasis upon modern history as the last act in the stream of human development; (c) a course in ancient and medieval history for itself and as a study of the past in the world's development; (d) a study of statesmen, their policies and practices, as an approach to national and international life; (e) the teaching of American history and American institutions to Americans to give a knowledge of them and to make better Americans; (f) a European history which is something more than the sum of the history of European states; and (g) an internationalism of which the United States is a part.

Charles Roll of the Indiana state normal school, Terre Haute, Indiana, presented a paper on "The trials of a history teacher." It was written in part in a rather humorous vein. Some of the most common trials experienced by college history teachers were mentioned. Among those emphasized were the following: the student's ignorance of the way to study; his failure to keep up with the times by the thoughtful reading of current periodicals; his ignorance of some of the commonest facts of history; his lack of familiarity with the literature of the subject; his lack of

responsiveness; the poor spelling found in so many examination manuscripts. The writer admitted, however, that the compensations of the history teacher far overbalance the burdens.

On Friday afternoon William C. Cochran of Cincinnati read the first paper, entitled "Perils of river navigation in the sixties." A surprising fact was that brought out by the writer that there were more lives lost by the explosion of boilers and burning of the steamboat *Sultana* in April, 1865, than by the sinking of the *Titanic* in April, 1912. Out of 910 registered steamboats on western rivers in 1865, 74 were lost in the short space of four months. The constant recurrence of steamboat disasters attended with its toll of lives lost, during the late sixties and early seventies, brought about almost prohibitive rates of insurance. Out of thirty-six companies in Cincinnati that engaged in marine insurance, all but one were forced to retire from this business in the sixties.

William E. Connelley, secretary of the Kansas state historical society, next read a paper on "Dr. Josiah Gregg, historian of the old Santa Fé trail." When Mr. Connelley wrote his *Doniphan's expedition*, he discovered that there was very little known of the life of this famous trader and author. The writer states that Gregg was born in Overton county, Tennessee, July 19, 1806, and had descended from a long line of Quaker ancestors. From Tennessee the parents of Gregg moved to Illinois, thence to Missouri in 1812, where they were inmates of Cooper's Fort in the Boones Lick country for a time, because of Indian troubles. After graduation from a medical college in Philadelphia, Gregg found his health impaired; and, turning to the outdoor life, he engaged in trade with Mexico. His experiences in this trade comprised the material for his book, *The commerce of the prairies*. During the war with Mexico he was a newspaper correspondent. He went to California in 1849, and later joined a party that started out to discover a site for a city on the coast which was to become the emporium of the rich gold mines of northwestern California. The party discovered Trinidad head, Humbolt bay, and Mad river. On February 25, 1850, on the shores of Clear lake, California, Dr. Gregg, exhausted and starving, fell from his horse, and died within a few hours.

"The construction of the Miami and Erie canal," was the

subject of a paper read by Arthur H. Hirsch, of Ohio Wesleyan university. The writer showed how the agitation for the plan of internal improvements had been started even before the Northwest ordinance had been passed. But not until 1816, under the administration of Governor Ethan Allen Brown, did the state of Ohio begin to give serious consideration to the question of canals. The act of February 4, 1825, authorized the appointment of the Miami canal board, and the establishment of a canal fund. With a great celebration held at Middletown, July 21, 1825, the construction work started. The history of the digging of the canal is filled with many dark chapters. Delays, sickness, fraud, financial distress, and great expense in securing material, all added to the difficulties that had to be overcome. The work was completed in 1845. The matter of providing funds to pay for the work was one of the greatest problems. Loans were placed with firms in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The first section of the canal cost an average of about \$10,000 per mile. The total cost, up to 1845, exceeded \$7,000,000.

The fourth paper of the Friday afternoon session was read by C. E. Carter of Miami university, on the subject "The significance of the military office in America, 1763-1775." The writer declared that the retention of the British army in America at the close of the French and Indian war, for purposes of imperial defense, together with the failure of the imperial government to agree upon a definite plan for the proper liquidation of the various issues growing out of the conditions of the peace of 1763, created a situation which made possible a very large accretion of power to the military service. In certain fields its power was supreme, namely, in the western Indian reservation and in the management of Indian affairs. In a third field, comprising the group of provinces created out of the cessions of 1763, such as Quebec and West Florida, the military service often successfully disputed authority with the civil power, while in the old provinces the royal executives suffered a serious loss of prestige. Finally, the central location of army headquarters in New York, with lines of communication radiating into every part of British North America, made it a most convenient source of information for the government. As a central agency of administration the military organization covered a wider area, was the most

effective, and lasted for a longer period than any that had yet appeared.

The Lincoln program proved to be one of the most interesting sessions of the entire meeting. Arthur C. Cole of the University of Illinois read a paper on "A house divided." He pointed out how Lincoln's "house divided" speech has been interpreted as the announcement of a crusade against the institution of slavery; whereas, in reality Lincoln insisted that it was not a statement of policy, but an essay in prophecy. That slavery might actually establish itself in the domain of the north, seemed, in the light of current interpretation entirely fantastic. But Lincoln was aware of an active propaganda in the south, built on the slave-holder's fear of radicalism and agrarianism, and his belief in the rights of the privileged few. Such propagandists rejected Jefferson's teachings of equality, and came to regard slavery as the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, whether white or black. When this doctrine spread to Illinois, Lincoln's "house divided" doctrine became more than a glittering abstraction. He concluded that the proslavery propaganda "means more, and tends to more, than the perpetration of African slavery; that it is in fact, a war upon the rights of all working people."

"Lincoln and Herndon," an address by Jesse W. Weik of Greencastle, Indiana, was in reality a well-drawn portrait of Lincoln in the garb of a lawyer. It portrayed Lincoln's three partners and was especially minute in its account of his association with the last of the three, William H. Herndon, "the one man," declared the speaker, "of whom it can be truthfully said that the world owes more to him for its knowledge of what Lincoln was before he became president than to all other persons taken together." Mr. Weik described his first meeting with Herndon and explained how he and the latter, having closeted themselves together in the old Lincoln office in Springfield, joined their efforts and after a long period of industrious research produced their biography of the great president. The speaker read extracts from numerous papers written by Mr. Lincoln which threw light on the latter's habits and characteristics as a lawyer. He also told the story of some of Lincoln's early cases, the details of which had never reached the public, and recited

Herndon's anecdotes of office discussions and of incidents of Lincoln's life on the circuit.

The History section of the Indiana state teachers' association joined with the Mississippi valley historical association, and held its annual spring meeting on Saturday morning, May 1. J. R. H. Moore, of the Manual training high school of Indianapolis, gave an address on "Americanization and the schools." He urged the teaching of a practical plan of Americanization; commented upon the need for an enlightened citizenship; and insisted that radicalism in all forms must go.

Logan Esarey of Indiana university gave a talk on "Indiana history and the schools." He stressed the value of local history, and urged the study and teaching of local events. Stories connected with the early settlers of a neighborhood should be studied as a means of vitalizing and making more real the subject of Indiana history.

JOHN W. OLIVER

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

MINUTES OF BUSINESS TRANSACTED AT THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association was called to order at 10:30 A. M., on Thursday, April 29, 1920, at Greencastle, Indiana, Dallas T. Herndon presiding. The president appointed John W. Oliver to write the resumé of the meeting, and named the following committees: auditing committee, Herbert A. Kellar, Solon J. Buck; committee on resolutions: William E. Connelley, Margaret J. Mitchell.

The business session of the association was held on Friday, April 30. The meeting was called to order immediately after lunch by Milo M. Quaife, president. The report of the secretary-treasurer, and a detailed financial statement for the year May 1, 1919, to April 30, 1920, were read. Mr. Kellar reported for the auditing committee that the financial statement had been prepared according to the rules laid down by the association and was approved by the committee. The report of the secretary-treasurer was then approved and placed on file.

Edward C. Page, chairman of the committee on historical museums in educational institutions made an extemporaneous report of the investigation he had begun. It was voted that the committee be continued for another year.

Melvin R. Gilmore, chairman of the committee on public historical museums, told of what was "being done in North Dakota in the way of starting an outdoor museum of history, this outdoor museum being the Memorial park which is the setting for the new memorial building, the building for the state historical society, which is to be erected this year." Mr. Gilmore stated that the park would be a living outdoor museum of history and ethnology. It was voted that the committee be continued until a more detailed report could be made.

In the absence of Mr. Lindley, chairman of the committee on the administration of state historical activities, the secretary read his report as follows:

It seems that this committee was appointed before the organization of the Association of historical directors of the old northwest, including Iowa. It is the feeling of former members of the committee that this organization is doing the work which might be done by such a committee as the one on the administration of state historical activities and is in a position to do the work even more effectively than such a committee could do it. I have interviewed various members of the organization and it is suggested that we recommend that the committee of the Mississippi valley historical association be discontinued. The committee also suggests the advisability of a report of the activities of the Association of historical directors of the upper Mississippi valley being made regularly to the Mississippi valley historical association, to appear either in the *PROCEEDINGS* or in the *Review*. If it is the general feeling that this conference of historical directors is doing the work which it was originally hoped would be done by this committee it would seem reasonable that a report of its activities should be given for the information and benefit of the Mississippi valley historical association as a whole.

The report was placed on file. Solon J. Buck, secretary of the Association of historical directors, stated that in his opinion that organization could not take the place of the committee for the Mississippi valley historical association on the administration of state historical activities. It was voted that a new committee be appointed.

William E. Connelley, chairman of the committee on the erection of memorials and the marking of historic sites, stated that he had received from the members of his committee detailed reports of historical sites marked in various states in the valley, which he desired to place with the association. Mr. Connelley summarized the work of his committee as follows:

It was the design of the committee to secure a complete survey of all the markings of historic sites in the Mississippi valley. It was a big job and there is no way to determine at this time whether the reports sufficiently cover their parts of the entire field.

It is surprising that very little mention is made in any of these reports of what is proposed in recognition of the soldiers of the great world war. In most of the reports there is no mention whatever. There was much discussion in almost every community in the country immediately after the soldiers came back, as to what manner of memorials should be erected. There seems to be less said about it at this time. That is not to be taken, however, as an indication that interest in the matter has died

out. Every community will eventually have monuments and memorials to these soldiers.

All the reports received are submitted herewith and are in fact the report of the committee. What is here said by the chairman is meant only as a prefatory statement and letter of transmittal. It is to be regretted that there are so many states failing to report. It is suggested that the secretary of the association make an effort to secure reports from these states. It is also suggested that this committee be discharged and that it be replaced by other members of the association. Reports have been received from states as follows: Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin. The following named states did not submit reports: Georgia, Indiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Pennsylvania.

The member of the committee first appointed from the state of Illinois did not make the report. He had an excuse. The chairman was under the necessity of calling on Chancellor L. Jenks for the report from the state. Mr. Jenks was added to the committee, but in some way failed to receive notice of his appointment. He had little time in which to compile the report; but he did the work well, and the chairman of this committee is under obligations to him for so doing.

Illinois contains many important historic sites. Much has been done toward marking them. The graves of more than six hundred revolutionary soldiers have been marked. They were among the pioneer settlers of the state. It is doubtful if any other western state has marked as many graves of revolutionary soldiers as has Illinois. In this work the Sons and Daughters of the American revolution were active. There has been some marking done by the Colonial dames. The markers and monuments in honor of the union soldiers in the civil war are numerous. It was impossible for Mr. Jenks to secure complete lists of these. The report enumerates twelve monuments and markers in honor of Abraham Lincoln.

The report for the state of Iowa is complete. More than sixty counties have erected monuments to union soldiers in the civil war. Bronze tablets have been placed in the historical building at Des Moines in honor of five revolutionary soldiers who have died in the state. The Daughters of the American revolution have marked the old Mormon trail through Iowa. There have been markers set on other trails. The point where Pike first unfurled the flag has been marked. This is now within the city of Burlington. There are state parks in sixty-two counties of Iowa, and these parks are described in this report. There is a fine article contributed by Edgar R. Harlan, curator of the historical department of Iowa, on the scope, purpose, and accomplishment of the state of Iowa in the marking of historic sites.

The report from the state of Kansas is fairly complete. In cemeteries in the state there are perhaps one hundred small monuments to the union soldiers of the civil war not included in this report. The old Santa Fé trail and the old Oregon trail passed thru Kansas. The Santa Fé trail has been adequately marked; the Oregon trail has been only partly marked. The Daughters of the American revolution have been most active in the marking of historic sites and trails. Many additional sites should be marked and they will be marked in time. At Council Grove there should be a fine monument to Dr. Josiah Gregg, the historian of the old Santa Fé trail. A bill was introduced in congress making an appropriation for this purpose but it has never yet received favorable consideration.

The Memorial building at Topeka is probably the most expensive memorial erected at this time in the jurisdiction of this association. It has already cost more than \$600,000 and its completion will require about \$150,000. It is the home of the Kansas state historical society and the Grand army of the republic, department of Kansas.

Perhaps the most expensive individual monument to the union soldiers of the civil war in the jurisdiction of the society was erected by Ira D. Brougher in the city park at Great Bend, Kansas. Mr. Brougher was a Pennsylvania soldier for the union in the civil war. He lost his right arm in the battle of Antietam. He settled in Barton county, taking a homestead, and he has become one of the wealthy men of the state.

The great majority of the monuments and markers erected in Kansas are in memory of the union soldiers of the civil war.

The report from the state of Kentucky does not pretend to contain a survey of the monuments erected prior to the present year. There are many monuments in Kentucky, and it is to be regretted that the report contains no description of them. It contains an account of the setting of three tablets during the year just past.

The chairman is under obligations to James E. Winston, of the Sophie Newcomb memorial college, New Orleans, who made the report for his state. Mr. Winston had very little time in which to make the report. Within the limits of Louisiana are many historic sites which have not been marked. Most of the monuments erected are in the city of New Orleans. In the city are to be found monuments to General Beauregard, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, Benjamin Franklin, Albert Sidney Johnston, John McDonough and Henry Watkins Allen.

The report from Michigan is really no report on monuments erected on historic sites. There is no account of any site having been marked in Michigan. This report is a discussion as to what may be done in the future. I suppose there are monuments and markers in the state of Michigan, but they are not enumerated in this report.

Minnesota includes the head waters of the great river, and is rich in historic sites. Many of these have been marked. The report for the state was made by Warren Upham of the Minnesota historical society, and is one of the best which has been received. The early forts and battle fields are mentioned as having been adequately marked. Trails and early roads have also had attention, as have the routes of the voyageurs. Captain Zebulon M. Pike receives proper mention in the report. A bronze tablet on the old round tower at Fort Snelling has been placed in his memory.

The report from Missouri enumerates sixty-two monuments. Mr. McClure by oversight omitted the one erected to Alexander W. Doniphan in the cemetery at Liberty, Missouri. Missouri has a fine monument to Thomas Jefferson and a large granite marker at the first graves of Daniel Boone and his wife. There are revolutionary soldiers buried in Missouri whose graves have been properly marked. There is a monument to Mark Twain. There has been some trail marking in Missouri but it is not included in this report. In the state there are monuments to both union and confederate soldiers.

The report for the state of Nebraska was made by Mrs. C. S. Paine, librarian of the Nebraska state historical society, and secretary of the Mississippi valley historical association. It is a good report. It takes up the marking of the old Oregon trail, and the markers along this historic highway are carefully located and described. The marking of this trail was an important event in the preservation of the sites of the great trails across the continent.

North Dakota is a young state and has not yet marked many of her historic sites, of which there are a number of important ones. The excellent report for the state was made by Professor O. G. Libby, one of the founders of this association and a hard working member of it.

The state of Ohio was a pioneer commonwealth and has a most interesting history. There the Indians made a desperate stand, and fought many battles. They were in alliance with the British government in the revolutionary war. There are probably more interesting Indian remains such as mounds and old fortifications in Ohio than in any other state. Many of the battle fields and some of the principal mounds have monuments and markers. There are many revolutionary soldiers buried in Ohio, but no mention of them is made in the report. No doubt many of their graves are marked. There are many monuments to union soldiers in the civil war. In fact they are too numerous to be taken up one by one in the report Mr. Wright had time to make.

South Dakota is another young state and has not had time to mark all the important historic sites within its borders. The report mentions eight

monuments and tablets. The Daughters of the American revolution are moving to mark the historic trails in the state.

The most elaborate report received is that of Wisconsin. The monuments and markers are grouped by counties. The report appears to be a complete survey of the state. The descriptions of the tablets on historic sites and prehistoric mounds, and of the monuments raised occupy ten pages. In another section of the report, of twenty-two pages, there are enumerated the historic sites worthy of celebration by tablet or statue. These are grouped in counties. It is a model report and cost much research.

On motion of Mr. Connelley, the report was accepted and the committee discharged.

Eugene M. Violette, chairman of the committee on state history as a part of the high school curriculum, was not present, and his report was read by the secretary as follows:

Your committee on the teaching of state history in the high school begs leave to submit the following report.

Owing to conditions that deterred the chairman from getting the work of the committee under way until late, the committee has done very little during the year. Recent correspondence, however, between the members has led to the following conclusions regarding the matter for which the committee as now constituted was appointed last spring.

1. The investigations carried on in 1916-1917 by W. H. Shephard, then chairman of this committee, showed that while there seemed to be a fairly strong sentiment throughout the Mississippi valley states in favor of state history being studied in high schools in connection with American history, the subject was not being pursued in the high schools in any of the states, either as a separate course or in connection with American history. The committee as it now stands thinks that in all probability there has been very little change in the situation and that a new inquiry along that line is not necessary.

2. The committee, however, feels that unless some definite effort is made, state history will never be studied in the high school. It is very generally pursued in the elementary school, but the subject is not likely to find a place in the high school curriculum spontaneously. If it is desirable to have state history studied in the high school in connection with American history, something needs to be done to get the high school authorities to consider the matter. The committee recommends that the Mississippi valley historical association through this committee bring to the attention of the state superintendents of instruction or education of the various states the desirability of having state history taught in the

high school, and attempt to enlist their coöperation in bringing that about. Already the state superintendent of Missouri has been prevailed upon to do that very thing, and in the state course of study for the high schools published in the fall of 1919 he strongly recommended that the high schools of the state make provision for the study of Missouri history in connection with American history. It is not known as yet how far his recommendations have been observed, but a few of the high schools in Missouri have adopted them and are having great success in their work. The committee feels that perhaps other state superintendents might take the same view about the matter if their attention were called to it in the proper manner.

3. The committee also feels that there is great need for college courses in state history and the history of the Mississippi valley in order that prospective teachers may have a chance to qualify themselves to teach state history in the high school. Indeed such courses are very much needed to prepare those who are to teach state history in the elementary school. But at present college courses in state history and the history of the Mississippi valley are very few. The committee, therefore, recommends that the Mississippi valley historical association through this committee undertake to interest the history departments of the universities, colleges, teachers' colleges, and normal schools that prepare high school teachers in establishing or developing college courses in state history and the history of the Mississippi valley and in popularizing these courses, especially among the students who are likely to become high school history teachers or high school principals. Something should be done towards having a syllabus of state history compiled for each state in such a way as would suggest to high school teachers how they may teach state history in connection with American history.

4. The committee further recommends that the Mississippi valley historical association through this committee submit the data collected by Mr. Shephard when chairman, to the committee on history and education for citizenship of the American historical association, the National board for historical service and the National educational association, and urge upon that committee that it recommend the study of state history in connection with American history, at least in the case of those states that have played some significant part in our national affairs.

In view of these recommendations the committee requests that it be continued for next year as it now stands in order that it may be given a chance to carry on the propaganda as outlined above. The committee would like to have financial assistance to help defray expenses in carrying on this work, and would therefore ask the executive committee to appropriate \$25.00 for that purpose. The committee feels that the association ought to foster every movement that would encourage the study

of state history in the Mississippi valley, and that the financial assistance asked for should be looked upon as an investment rather than an expenditure.

It was voted that the committee be continued and asked to make further report next year.

In the absence of Mr. Hill, Mr. Tryon reported for the committee on standardizing library work and library equipment for history in secondary schools and moved that the preliminary report of the committee be received and that the executive committee of the teachers' section be authorized to act upon the report in its final form.¹ The motion was seconded and carried.

The secretary presented a resolution to the association, duly recommended by the executive committee, to raise the life membership dues to one hundred dollars. A motion to this effect was made and carried. The last sentence of article VI of the constitution has been amended to read, "Any individual may become a life member upon the payment of one hundred dollars." By motion duly seconded and carried this amendment becomes operative on January 1, 1921. It was voted that the life membership dues be placed in a permanent fund of which the interest should be expended for general expenses.

Mr. Libby presented the report for the committee on nominations as follows:

For president, Chauncey S. Boucher.

For secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Clarence S. Paine.

For members of the executive committee, for three years, William Sweet, Guy S. Ford, Miss Margaret Mitchell.

Mr. Tryon, representing the teachers' section, moved to add to the report of the nominating committee the names of J. R. H. Moore and Miss Bessie Pierce, as members of the executive committee for the teachers' section, for three years. Mr. Tryon's amendment was accepted by the nominating committee, the rules suspended, and the secretary instructed to cast the ballot for the aforesaid officers and members of the executive committees.

Mr. Cox moved that Thomas M. Marshall be elected as a member of the executive committee for one year to fill the term made vacant by the election of Mr. Boucher to the office of president. The motion was seconded and carried.

¹ The report is printed *post*, pp. 373-391.

Mr. Connelley, chairman of the committee on resolutions, reported as follows:

The Mississippi valley historical association at its thirteenth annual meeting held at DePauw university, Greencastle, Indiana, expresses its appreciation of favors in the following resolutions:

Resolved, that the association extend hearty thanks to the president and faculty of DePauw university, and especially to the members of the history department, for the very cordial welcome which they have given us and for the most efficient arrangements which have been made and carried out for our entertainment.

Resolved, That the thanks of the association also be extended to the president and faculty of Purdue university for their share in arranging for our entertainment.

Resolved, That the association express its appreciation for the efficient work of the local committee on arrangements in providing accommodations and to the program committee for the most excellent program furnished.

Resolved, That the members of the association express their thanks to the officers of the association for their effective and thorough work the past year and for the prosperous condition of the affairs of the association.

Resolved, That the secretary secure information as to the location for the fourteenth annual meeting of the association and communicate this information to the executive committee to be used in determining where and when the annual meeting shall be held next year.

Resolved, That we have heard with sorrow of the death of the members named in the report of the secretary; of E. Q. Randall, secretary of the Ohio state archeological and historical society; of Miss Jennie C. Norton, secretary of the Kentucky state historical society; and of Thomas M. Owen, director of the Alabama department of archives and history, and the second president of the Mississippi valley historical association.

The report was received and the resolutions adopted by a unanimous vote.

The business session was then adjourned.

The executive committee met at 8 A. M. on Friday, April 30. There were present Milo M. Quaife, Solon J. Buck, Louis Pelzer, Orin G. Libby, Mrs. Clara S. Paine, and C. W. Alvord, managing editor. In the absence of the chairman of the executive committee, the president called the meeting to order. Lester B. Shippee, Arthur C. Cole, and Clarence E. Carter were elected members of the board of editors for three years. It was agreed

by the executive committee to recommend to the association that the constitution be amended and the life membership dues be raised to one hundred dollars. Mr. Powers, representing the Torch press, stated that it would be impossible to print the *Review* and PROCEEDINGS for the coming year at the present cost to the association. The board of editors was instructed to investigate cost of printing in various cities and make the best arrangements possible. Invitations to meet in Iowa City in 1922 were presented by the secretary of the state historical society of Iowa, the University of Iowa, and the department of history of the University of Iowa. Definite action was not taken, but it was agreed that it would be a pleasure to meet in Iowa City in 1922 if circumstances permitted. An invitation was issued by Mr. Fish on behalf of the University of Wisconsin to meet in Madison in 1921. No formal action was taken, but it was the sense of the committee that the invitation be accepted.

The executive committee held a brief session at 8 A. M. on Saturday, May 1. There were present Messrs. Quaife, Buck, Pelzer, Cox, Alvord, Mrs. Paine, and Miss Mitchell. Mr. Quaife was elected chairman of the executive committee for the coming year. It was voted that the nominating committee be required to report to the secretary before the annual meeting each year, said report to be submitted to the executive committee and other publicity given regarding the candidates for office.

The meeting then adjourned.

CLARA S. PAINE, *Secretary*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

(APRIL 30, 1919 TO APRIL 30, 1920)

This association held a session in Cleveland, Ohio, in connection with the annual meeting of the American historical association, December 29-30, 1919. Members of the executive and standing committees met at breakfast on Monday morning and discussed business informally. The chairman of the program committee, John W. Oliver, outlined the program for the meeting in Greencastle; and W. W. Sweet, chairman of the local committee on arrangements, told of the plans for entertainment. The date for the meeting was set for April 29, 30, and May 1, the time most convenient for the entertaining city. The convention bureau of St. Louis desired the Mississippi valley historical association to recommend that the American historical association meet in St. Louis in December, 1920 or 1921. No definite action was taken, but the association approved the central location providing it was acceptable to the American historical association.

The following program was given on Monday morning at ten o'clock, Milo M. Quaife presiding: "The foreign policy of Alexander Hamilton," Samuel F. Bemis of Colorado college; "The American position on the revolution of 1848 in Germany," Reginald C. McGrane of the University of Cincinnati; "Southern opinion in regard to the Mexican war and the accession of territory," Chauncey S. Boucher, Ohio state university; "The strategy of concentration in the Mississippi valley in the spring of 1862," Alfred P. James, University of Pittsburgh. The paper by Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina, on "The Transylvania project: the last phase," was omitted on account of the absence of Mr. Henderson.

The dinner scheduled for Wednesday evening was changed to Tuesday and was well attended. Informal speeches were made by Mr. Quaife, the president, by Mr. Alvord, and by Mr. Cox, who in closing introduced Albert J. Beveridge, the speaker of the evening. Mr. Beveridge gave a delightfully informal talk upon how he came to write the biography of John Marshall.

The minutes of the business transacted in St. Louis were submitted by mail to the members of the executive committee shortly after the twelfth annual meeting and were returned to the secretary approved.

For the membership committee the secretary reports seventy mem-

bers added during the year, including two life members. Thirty-four names have been dropped by cancellation or for nonpayment of dues. The following members have died during the year: John E. Roller, Harrisonburg, Virginia; Laenas G. Weld, Pullman, Illinois; Henry Morse Stephens, Berkeley, California; Heman C. Smith, Lamoni, Iowa; Minnie Elizabeth McKenzie, Cincinnati, Ohio; Darwin S. Hall, Olivia, Minnesota; Frank P. Crandon, Evanston, Illinois; Jan S. Broz, Omaha, Nebraska; Thomas McAdory Owen, Montgomery, Alabama; Charles F. Gunther, Chicago.

The following budget estimating expenditures for the year 1919-1920 was approved by the finance committee, which consists of the president, the chairman of the executive committee, the managing editor, and the secretary-treasurer.

Printing PROCEEDINGS and <i>Review</i>	\$2,000.00
Expense editorial office	450.00
Clerical allowance	750.00
Postage and express	150.00
Miscellaneous printing, office supplies, traveling	225.00
	<hr/>
	\$3,575.00

Invitations have been presented to the association to meet in Madison, Wisconsin, and in Little Rock or Hot Springs, Arkansas in 1921. An invitation to meet in Iowa City in 1922 has been received from the state historical society and from the University of Iowa.

The following is the financial report of the secretary-treasurer for the past year.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

APRIL 30, 1919 — APRIL 30, 1920

Receipts

Individual membership fees	\$ 654.00	
Library membership fees	886.00	
Sustaining and life membership fees	295.00	
Guarantee for printing publications	1,500.00	
Advertising	28.00	
Book sales	316.00	
Exchange	3.05	
Dues of new members	201.00	
Interest on savings account	20.52	
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Total receipts		3,903.61
Balance on hand, May 1, 1919		1,363.89

Total balance carried forward	\$5,267.50
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Disbursements

Publications	\$1,684.59
Clerical salaries	770.00
Editorial expenses	369.25
Postage and express	183.79
Miscellaneous printing	121.10
Office supplies	23.81
Traveling expense	152.29
Freight and drayage	22.26
Commission on books and new members	274.51

Total disbursement	3,601.60
Balance on hand, April 24, 1920	1,665.90

\$5,267.50	\$5,267.50
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The balance on hand consists of a checking account in bank, \$1,136.20; a savings account in bank, \$528.55; and cash in office, \$1.15.

This is to certify that we have audited the accounts of Clara Paine, Secretary of the Mississippi valley historical association, for the period from May 1, 1919, to April 24, 1920, and that the foregoing is a correct statement of the receipts and disbursements for the period.

The receipts have been verified by checking, item by item, the stubs of the cash receipts retained by the secretary, and the disbursements have been verified by an approved receipted-voucher for each and every disbursement; the balance on hand has been verified by the balanced pass books of the National Bank of Commerce, of Lincoln, Nebraska.

WIGGINS-BABCOCK COMPANY, *Public Accountants*
By H. S. WIGGINS, C. P. A.

LINCOLN, NEBRASKA, April 24, 1920

Respectfully submitted,

CLARA S. PAINE, *Secretary-Treasurer*

THE TIMBER CULTURE ACTS

The timber culture acts were born of a desire "to promote tree culture" upon the "treeless plains of the Great West."¹ They failed in this purpose; and in retrospect they are mainly interesting because on them was based the transfer of nearly eleven million acres of land from the public domain of the United States to the hands of private citizens. The six states in which land in the largest amount was thus transferred lay in the Mississippi valley. Next after them came the three states on the Pacific coast.

On February 20, 1872, Senator Phineas W. Hitchcock, of Nebraska, introduced a bill that on March 3, 1873, became the first timber culture act. Title to a quarter-section of land might be acquired by planting forty acres of trees, set twelve feet apart each way, and cultivating them for ten years. That is, the price of the quarter-section was the planting and care for ten years of about twelve thousand trees. If less than a quarter-section was desired the requirements as to the number of trees were proportionately less. In 1874 the ten years were reduced to eight. The second of the two main acts, also introduced by a senator from Nebraska, was passed, June 14, 1878, and remained the cornerstone of the system until the repeal in 1891.²

The three processes — making application for land, complying with the physical requirements, and making final proof — were all carefully regulated by the statutes, supplemented by regulations from the general land office. By the law of 1873, the entryman was to appear at the local land office of the district in which lay the land he desired. There were in the United States in the seventies about a hundred land offices. Nebraska, for instance, had seven; Kansas, eight; and Colorado and Dakota

¹ *Report of the commissioner of the general land office for the year ending June 30, 1872* (Washington, 1872), 69.

² *Congressional Globe*, 42 congress, 2 session, p. 1129; *Statutes at large of the United States of America*, 17:605; 18:21; 20:113; 26:1096; *Congressional record*, 45 congress, 2 session, p. 57.

territories, five each. The law of 1878 allowed the affidavits to be made before "the register or receiver or the clerk of some court of record or officer authorized to administer oaths in the district where the land [was] situated." Affidavit had to be made that the applicant was the head of a family, was over twenty-one years of age, and was a citizen of the United States (or had declared his intention of becoming one). The applicant had to give technical description or location of the land, and had to swear that it was "composed exclusively of prairie land naturally devoid of timber," and that it was "essentially non-mineral land." The register at the land office attached to the entryman's application a certificate stating that the application was for the class of lands for which application might legally be made, and that there existed no prior adverse claim. The entryman paid ten dollars to the receiver (or five dollars if the entry was for less than eighty acres), and each of the two officials received two dollars. When final proof was made, fees of two dollars to each official were again paid. Thus the total money payment for a timber claim was only eighteen dollars.³

The statute of 1878, which reduced from forty to ten the number of acres required to be planted, gave detailed directions about planting and cultivation. The entryman was to break or plow five acres the first year (if he entered for a quarter-section); the second year he was to cultivate to crop or otherwise the five acres plowed the first year, and break five acres more. In the third year he was to plant "in timber, seeds or cuttings" the five acres first plowed, and cultivate the second five acres; and only in the fourth year was he to have all ten acres planted in timber. Four years later, that is, eight years after the original entry, final proofs might be made. The commissioner of the general land office, constrained doubtless by reports of lack of due care, made this regulation in 1887: "The plowing must be done at the proper season of the year, . . . and the cultivation of the crop must be thorough and *bona fide*." It was the commissioner, too, who decided that shrubbery and fruit

³ *Report of commissioner of land office, 1874, 38; 1875, 18; United States statutes at large, 18:21.* Copies of the blank forms for affidavits of entry are printed in Thomas Donaldson, "The public domain. Its history, with statistics" (*Miscellaneous documents of the house of representatives, 42 congress, 2 session, no. 45, part 4*), 1093 ff.

trees did not meet the requirements of the act. He stated in 1879 that timber meant that sort of wood "which is proper for buildings, or for tools, utensils, furniture, carriages, fences, ships and the like;" and in 1880 he made up a list of twenty-four trees that would satisfy requirements.⁴

The penalty for failure to live up to the letter of the law was forfeiture of the land; and strictly the entrymen were liable to lose their claims if they made entry in a region where it was too dry for trees. The laws took account, however, of special droughts and grasshopper visitations. If trees, seeds, or cuttings were destroyed by grasshoppers or by extreme or unusual drought for any year or term of years, the time for planting and the time allowed for making final proof were extended one year for every year that such destruction occurred. Attempts to cultivate might not, however, be intermitted for more than one year continuously. Until 1889 temporary cessation of cultivation entailed an obligation to make up lost time; but by a law of that year time lost on account of drought or grasshoppers was not to be deducted from the accredited years.⁵

After cultivation for eight years the entryman proceeded to make final proof. He had now to be a full citizen of the United States. With two "credible witnesses," he made affidavits to the effect that requirements had been met; and he paid the final fees. Oath was made that there were growing on each of the ten acres at least six hundred and seventy-five flourishing trees. Until 1890 the affidavits had to be made in the land office of the district in which the land lay. By a law of that year, the affidavits might be made before "any commissioner of the United States circuit court, or before the judge or clerk of any court of record of the county or parish in which the lands [were] situated." Final proof had to be made within thirteen years of the date of the original entry or the land was subject to forfeiture.⁶

The timber culture acts may be regarded as variants of the homestead law. The first act, that of 1873, was originally

⁴ *United States statutes at large*, 20: 113, 114; *Report of commissioner of land office*, 1879, 75; 1880, 85; 1887, 130; 1889, 104, 143; 1890, 144.

⁵ *United States statutes at large*, 17:606; 19:59, 406; 20:114; 21:48; 25:854; *Report of commissioner of land office*, 1880, 85.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1874, 39; 1887, 130; 1889, 104; Donaldson, *Public domain*, 1093; *United States statutes at large*, 20:114; 26:121.

introduced as an amendment to the homestead law. A homestead settler might, by growing trees, reduce the residence required of him from five to three years. A man was not allowed, however, to change his timber culture entry into a homestead entry.⁷ The great difference between the two systems lay in this, that a man had really to reside on his homestead, whereas the only requirement in the case of a timber claim was that he perform a definite amount of planting and cultivation. This done, he might absent himself from the claim for the major part of the year. Throughout the period when the timber culture acts were in force the two systems were, so to speak, in competition for popular favor. During the years 1873-1878 the timber culture entries amounted annually to nearly a fourth of the acreage of original entries under the homestead laws.⁸ After the act of 1878 had reduced the amount of timber to be cultivated, original entries under it sprang up to fifty-two per cent of those under the homestead act. There was a slight decline for a time; and then during the five years 1884-1888 timber-culture entries amounted annually to more than half as much as homestead entries.⁹ In 1885 they rose to sixty-four per cent.

It is one of the commonplaces of the history of the public domain that there were connected with its disposal many abuses and much fraudulent practice; and the operation of the timber culture acts exhibited these features in abundance. Only land naturally devoid of timber could legally be entered under the acts, but entries were nevertheless made for land on which there was growing timber. The commissioner's report summarized one case thus: "It is not claimed or intended that the land is naturally devoid of timber, but it is claimed . . . that the quantity of timber . . . is not, nor likely to be, sufficient to supply the wants of the number of inhabitants who would ordinarily . . . inhabit the section, and therefore it should be subject to a timber culture entry."¹⁰ Yet this offence could have been but an occasional one in the prairie states where timber culture entries were most frequently made.

⁷ *United States statutes at large*, 17:606, section 3; 18:21; *Congressional globe*, 42 congress, 2 session, p. 4464; *Report of commissioner of land office*, 1879, 75.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1874-1878, statistics near the beginning of each annual report.

⁹ *Ibid.*, each year; percentages by calculation. Comparisons are not included in the reports.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1885, 98.

The most persistent and widespread abuse was speculation, and this was of several sorts. Until the repealing act of 1891, there could not be any sale of an uncompleted timber claim. A "relinquishment or sale" was a "waiver of the right of the entryman." Land relinquished was held "as open to settlement and entry without further action." So there appeared a class of false entrymen, whose ultimate purpose was relinquishment to actual settlers for money. "The records of this office," ran a land office report of 1885, "exhibit successions of entries, relinquishments, contests and re-entries of the same tracts in the farming districts, showing that speculation in the land and not cultivation of timber is the foundation of the mass of claims under . . . this . . . act." Land-greedy men on neighboring pre-emption or homestead tracts would make timber culture entries to keep other people off the land. After making final proof on their tracts under these other laws, they would relinquish their timber culture entries and file homestead or pre-emption claims instead, and then occupy the land. "There are instances in this district," came the report from Aberdeen, Dakota, "where timber-culture entries have passed by relinquishment through the hands of every member of the family, finally to become a pre-emption or homestead entry."¹¹

Some men were more interested in the present use of the land than in the ultimate ownership of it. A timber culture entry would run for thirteen years before it lapsed, and even longer if the matter of non-fulfillment of requirements and failure to make final proof did not come to the attention of the local land officers. During all this time the entryman might use the land, "free of rent, interest or taxes." The large stock raisers, the "cattle-kings," especially offended in this way. "Within the great stock ranges of Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado and elsewhere, one-quarter of nearly every section is covered by a timber-culture entry, made for the use of the cattle owners, usually by their herdsmen, who make false land affidavits as a part of the condition of their employment." Contests, by which *bona fide* entrymen might hope to bring the facts to the attention of officials, were prevented by force.¹²

Men seeking investment often came long distances to make

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1880, 94; 1882, 12, 72; 1888, 66; *United States statutes at large*, 21:140.

¹² *Report of commissioner of land office*, 1885, 72.

entries for timber culture land. Some expected to have the necessary work done by hired labor, but in almost all such cases the land was later abandoned. The following was reported from Denver in 1887: "a colony of seventy-two persons from Nebraska recently visited Denver and made homestead and timber-culture entries, swearing to the non-mineral character of the land without ever having seen the land, and then returned to their homes." A parasitic business came into existence. Applications signed almost anywhere in the United States were filed by agents or attorneys, who caused "a jurat to be attached thereto, either in their own offices, or through some confederate in the land district."¹³

Abuses, then, under the acts, were of serious effect, frequent, and incurable. No trees were to be seen over vast regions where timber culture entries were most numerous. Three-fourths of the original entries were never completed. The commissioner of the general land office wrote in 1883: "Continued experience has demonstrated that these abuses are inherent in the law, and beyond the reach of administrative methods for their correction." It is therefore not surprising that the commissioner should, as he did, urge the repeal of the acts in 1883, and in every year that followed.¹⁴

In 1888 there was sent out to the local land offices an elaborate questionnaire on the workings of the land laws, and it yielded a most convincing array of evidence. It is spread over some forty pages of the *Report* for that year, and the commissioner thus summed it up: "It is remarkable how . . . officers, scattered over all parts of the country agree in the opinion that the timber-culture and pre-emption laws and the commutation feature of the homestead law, furnish the readiest means of acquiring public lands improperly." The west itself was dissatisfied with the system. The legislature of South Dakota in the spring of 1890, petitioned congress to modify the law. Mr. Pickler, representative, in presenting the petition, said: "We have thoroughly tested the tree-culture law in our country and we cannot grow trees as provided by that law." The legislature of the state of Washington memorialized congress, suggesting that those who had complied with the law in the matters of

¹³ *Report of commissioner of land office, 1887, 143; 1888, 59; Donaldson, Public domain, 682.*

¹⁴ *Report of commissioner of land office, 1883, 7, 8.*

breaking and planting should be permitted to acquire title on payment of \$1.25 an acre. In January, 1890, before these petitions were received, a bill had been introduced in the house, "To provide for commutation of timber culture entries." In February the house committee on public lands reported a substitute, "An act to repeal timber-culture laws and for other purposes." The senate retarded its progress somewhat, but finally, on March 3, 1891, eighteen years after the passing of the first act, the repeal became a fact. The long discredited system had been an unconscionable time in dying.¹⁵

It was not, however, quite dead yet. The new statute provided for commutation, and entitled those who wished to do so to complete on the original terms. The repealing statute provided as to commutation, "that any person who [has] made entry . . . under the timber culture laws, and who has for a period of four years . . . complied with the provisions of the said laws, and who is an actual *bona fide* resident of the State or Territory in which said land is located, shall be entitled to make final proof thereto, and acquire title," by paying \$1.25 an acre. The four-year period would make it possible to distinguish genuine cultivators from dishonest men, and it was attempted to exclude speculators from a distance. Commutation of timber culture entries proved to be a fairly popular way of acquiring title. Nine and twenty-nine hundredths per cent of all land transferred under the acts—in fact, over a million acres—was commuted to cash. In the four months after the authorizing statute, 67,000 acres were commuted; and over 300,000 acres in each of the two succeeding years. After 1897 the amounts fell below 8,000 acres annually; but there were small amounts every year until 1905.¹⁶

Even longer than the business of commutation, continued the activity by the regular method. In 1893 the requirements as to final proof were reduced. It was necessary no longer to show that there were any living trees on the land, but simply to show that trees had been in good faith planted and in good faith cultivated. As by law a claim lapsed in thirteen years, all business should have been terminated in 1904. Local land officers,

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1888, 56; *Congressional record*, 51 congress, 1 session, pp. 70, 1523, 2352, 2538; *United States statutes at large*, 26:1095.

¹⁶ *Reports of commissioner of land office, 1891-1905.*

however, carelessly permitted entries to be made after 1891. There were still pending in 1906 "about five hundred sixty-nine entries, practically all of which were made long after the expiration of the statutory period." The last final proof was made during the year ending June 30, 1909, and the tale of the "tree-claims" was then complete.¹⁷

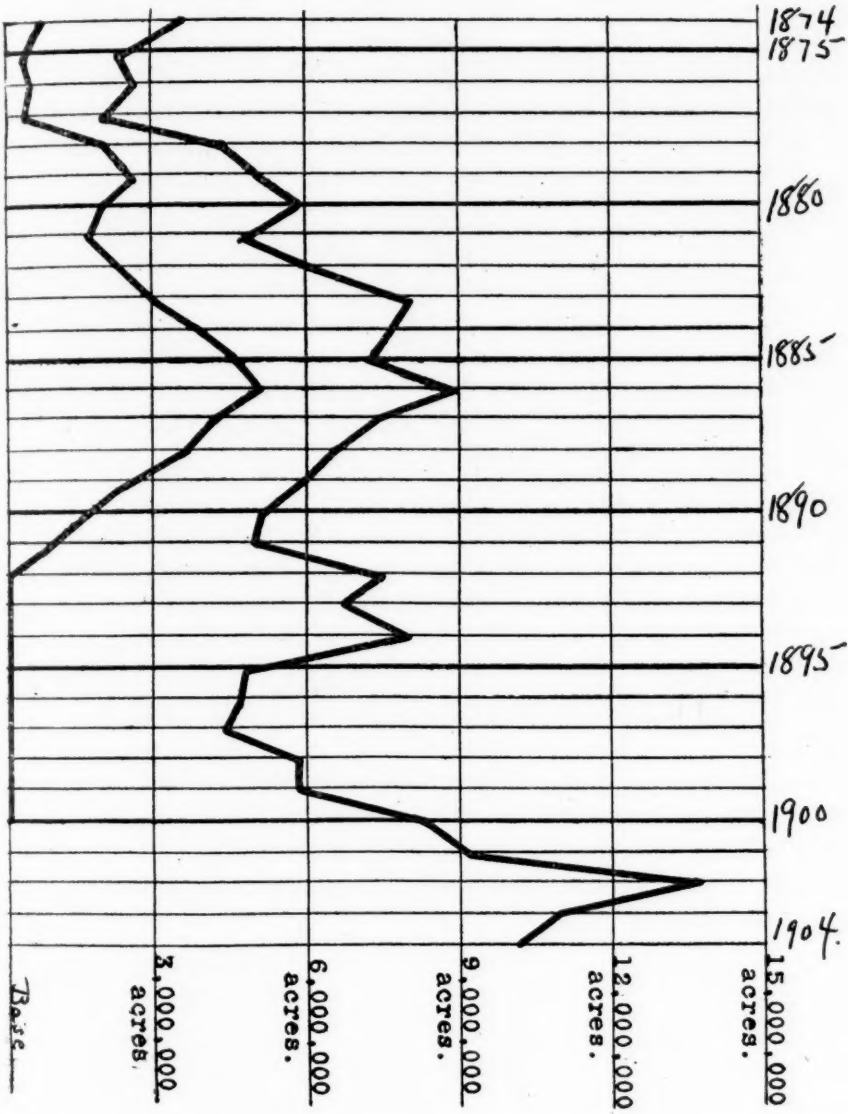
It remains only to examine the statistics touching the operation of the act. There were made 290,278 original entries, amounting in all to a little more than 43,500,000 acres. Counting both entries on which final proof was made in the usual way, and those commuted for cash, we find that 72,371 entries, or twenty-four and nine-tenths per cent of the total, resulted in transfer of land. The land transferred amounts to 10,865,480.61 acres. The average size, in the cases both of original entries and completed claims, is almost exactly 150 acres.¹⁸

By taking the amounts of the original entries year by year, it is possible to plot a curve, showing the fluctuations of public interest in timber culture land. After the amount of cultivation required was reduced in 1878, from forty to ten acres, there was a rapid rise that lasted for two years. The decline of the two succeeding years was possibly due to the seriousness of the drought and the grasshopper plague; possibly to other causes. Reference has already been made to the comparative amount of business done under timber culture and homestead legislation. The curves for both are roughly alike. Both show a general tendency to rise from 1877, both decline a little at 1880, and both reach their highest points in our period in 1886. For the timber culture acts, the acreage represented by the original entries that year was a little over five and a third million acres. A decline then began that lasted into the early nineties; and when a prosperous time in homestead land business came again, the timber culture acts had been repealed.

Entries were made and completed in twenty-one different states and territories. In only nine, however, did the number of completed entries exceed seven hundred, or the acreage for which title passed amount to more than one hundred thousand

¹⁷ *Report of commissioner of land office, 1906, 40, 41; 1909; United States statutes at large, 27:593.*

¹⁸ No attempt is made to give page references for these statistics. They are drawn from the annual *Reports*, but involve arithmetical work for which the *Reports* furnish only the starting points.



Explanation of graph: The upper line represents original entries under the home-stead act; the lower line, original entries under the timber culture acts.

acres. The following table gives these nine states arranged in order according to the number of entries, and the total acreage:

State or territory in order of acreage	Number of entries completed	Total acreage of completed entries
Nebraska	18,120	2,643,067.39
South Dakota	15,423	2,359,619.68
Kansas	13,747	2,148,763.23
North Dakota	9,149	1,419,462.72
Colorado	4,449	683,422.85
Minnesota	3,313	413,842.19
Washington	2,542	368,137.06
Oregon	1,751	259,959.28
California	1,047	142,140.34

The four leading states form a solid block from Kansas to North Dakota; and Colorado and Minnesota, which follow at some distance, flank the solid block on west and east respectively. The other three are the Pacific coast states. Nebraska, whence had come the original movers of the acts in the senate, profited most. It should be added, with reference to the table above, that final entries made before 1889 in the Dakotas were returned in the *Reports* simply as of Dakota territory. The amounts for the years before 1889 have been here apportioned to North and South Dakota in the ratio shown by all the final entries after that date.

By division it is possible to find what part of the total area of a state passed into private hands under the timber culture acts. The following list shows what percentage of each state's area is land alienated from the public domain under timber culture legislation:

State	Percentage
Nebraska	5.33
South Dakota	4.806
Kansas	4.106
North Dakota	3.16
The two Dakotas together	4.0
Colorado	1.303
Washington	.86
Minnesota	.81
Oregon	.424
California	.143

The same four states head the list again, and in the same order, followed by Colorado, and Minnesota, but with Washington ahead of Minnesota. The other two Pacific states are again in the leading nine.

The use of the timber culture method of acquiring title to land occurred when two conditions appeared in conjunction: the agricultural frontier, and a soil naturally devoid of timber. There are no statistics of the amount of timber produced through the working of the acts. It is suggested that the curious make inquiry of the now elderly men who were young in Nebraska, Kansas, and the Dakotas, in the eighties and nineties of the last century.¹⁹

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¹⁹ There were twenty-two statutes which touched upon the timber culture system. They are printed in *United States statutes at large*, 17:605; 18:21; 19:54, 59, 405; 20:19, 113, 169; 21:48, 140; 25:854; 26:121, 1096; 27:270, 572; 28:227, 594, 599, 744; 29:43; 32:63; 33:59.

AN HISTORICAL DETECTIVE STORY

It is not customary to begin a detective story with an introduction, nor to end it with a moral, but I propose to do both; and the first from a feeling that I owe some explanation for appearing before this learned body with a subject that might seem somewhat frivolous. I therefore confess at the outset that I am fond of detective stories, and also that my interest in historical research has been held chiefly by the detective problems it presents — the puzzles, great and small, that confront the historical student on all sides.

This is merely a confession of my human nature — of a leaning to those things that, in popular phrase, have “human interest.” The average man cares little for plain historical recital, but you will find few persons who would not take interest in a discussion of the identity of the man in the iron mask, or even in the authorship of the Junius letters. In reality most people enjoy a puzzle of any kind, but especially one that touches human life. For this reason, the best detective stories purport to be founded on actual cases, and the literary skill of the writer is measured by the completeness of the reader’s conviction that he is reading an actual case. This is one of the most attractive features of Gaboriau’s stories, and to a large extent of Edgar Allan Poe’s. Both of these writers had real detective ability; and Poe demonstrated his very conclusively in his “Mystery of Marie Roget,” which was his solution of a contemporary murder case, and which was later found to be substantially correct. Of course, the study of any actual mystery, past or present, is in a sense historical research.

It happened, some thirty odd years ago, that my attention was turned to the history of slavery in the Northwest territory by stumbling on the fact that the action in regard to it had been used as a precedent in connection with the admission of California to statehood. I found the subject engrossing, for I know of no other general subject in American history that presents

more puzzling questions and curious contradictions than this. It is to one of these, which was brought to public notice at quite recent date, that I will call your attention now. In 1913, Professor Quaife published his *Chicago and the old northwest*; and his statement of the case of Jeffrey Nash¹ in that interesting volume, with a few additional items, will serve as chapter one of my story, for all well constructed detective stories open with a statement of the case which puts the mystery before the reader, and starts him to guessing at the solution.

CHAPTER I

On May 22, 1804, articles of indenture were entered into which bound Jeffrey Nash, a "Negro man," to serve John Kinzie and Thomas Forsyth, "Merchants of Chicago," for the term of seven years. The instrument describes Nash as an inhabitant of Wayne County, although it was executed, apparently, at Chicago. The Chicago of 1804 was located in Wayne County, Indiana Territory, whose county seat was Detroit, over three hundred miles away. In return for meat, drink, apparel, washing and lodging "fitting for a Servant," Nash bound himself to the maintenance of an utterly impossible standard of conduct. Doubtless the quaint language of the indenture simply followed the customary form of such documents; it can scarcely have been expected that the bound man would live up to its numerous stipulations.

Nash signed the instrument by making his mark. It might reasonably be concluded, even in the absence of other information concerning him, that this indenture practically reduced him to slavery. That Kinzie and Forsyth chose to so regard Nash's status is shown by their treatment of him. He was taken to Peoria, Forsyth's place of residence from 1802 to 1812, and for many years held by the latter as a slave. At length he ran away from his bondage and made his way to St. Louis, and eventually to New Orleans, where he was said to have had a wife and children. Forsyth and Kinzie sought to recover possession of him and to this end a suit was instituted in the parish court; the case went ultimately to the Supreme Court of Louisiana, where an interesting decision was rendered.²

The plaintiffs submitted two lines of evidence in support of their contention that Nash was their lawful slave. A number of witnesses testified that for a term of years he had lived at Peoria as Forsyth's

¹ Milo M. Quaife, *Chicago and the old northwest, 1673-1835; a study of the evolution of the northwestern frontier, together with a history of Fort Dearborn*. (Chicago, 1913), 150-152.

² Martin, Louisiana, p. 180.

slave, being "known and reputed" as such by the villagers. Furthermore the plaintiffs produced a bill of sale of Nash to them, dated at Detroit September 5, 1803, and there recorded and duly authenticated. In view of the fact that the articles of indenture whereby Nash bound himself "voluntarily as a servant" to Kinzie and Forsyth for a term of seven years were executed in May, 1804, there seems to be no escape from the conclusion that the bill of sale was a forgery, fabricated for the use to which it was now put. Although it deceived the court, the fraud brought no profit to the plaintiffs. The judges declared that since the ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory unless under two exceptions, the plaintiff's "alleged possession" of Nash could only have been lawful at the time the bill of sale was produced on two grounds. There could be complete ownership and slavery only in case the person claimed had been convicted of a crime by which his freedom was forfeited. Of, if the defendant were a fugitive from involuntary servitude in another state, he might be seized and returned to servitude there.

The plaintiffs did not claim Nash on this latter ground, however. Their contention was for the absolute right to hold Nash during his natural life and dispose of him as they pleased. Their conduct toward him showed that they unlawfully attempted to, and did successfully, exercise for years the right of absolute control over him, until he at last sought safety in flight. Since no evidence had been produced to show that Nash had forfeited his freedom because of conviction for crime, the decision was given for him with costs. Thus did the Supreme Court of the slave state of Louisiana uphold the free character of the soil of Illinois, and rescue a free man from bondage, at a time when slavery openly flourished here, and slaves were bought and sold and held in bondage even by such prominent characters as the governor of the territory.

In the *Proceedings* of the Wisconsin historical society for 1915, Mr. Eugene E. Prussing published a study of the Nash case, entitled "Chicago's first great lawsuit"³ and based on Professor Quaife's statement, but adding to it a few facts, the most important being a copy of the contract of apprenticeship referred to, of which Professor Quaife gives only an extract in a footnote. Mr. Prussing attaches much importance to this Louisiana decision, as establishing the meaning of the Ordinance of 1787; and he is more severe in his condemnation of Forsyth and Kinzie, the claimants of the negro. He says:

³ pp. 124-139.

The case of Forsyth et al. v. Nash has two claims to importance, aside from the immediate question whether or not Jeffrey Nash, a negro, should be returned to the plaintiffs as a runaway slave.

In the first place it set the seal of condemnation upon the reputation of the plaintiffs, one of whom was John Kinzie, the reputed "father of Chicago" and the other, his partner and kinsman, Thomas Forsyth, not because it disclosed that they claimed to be slaveholders, for there were many such in Illinois Territory at that time, including the governor, Ninian Edwards, but that they sought to hold Nash as a slave by virtue of a forged bill of sale, void, it is true, under the law, but none the less a fraud.

Secondly, it involved the questions, there necessarily and rightly decided by the Court, which the Supreme Court of the United States is said unnecessarily and wrongly to have decided in the famous Dred Scott case forty years later. The latter also affirmed that a black man could not raise the question of his right to freedom in the federal courts, because he was not a citizen of the United States, and could not sue in its courts.

If these claims to distinction are sustained, the case may fairly be described as a great one.

Mr. Prussing returns to the "forged bill of sale" at the conclusion of his paper, in these words:

Whether or not John Kinzie was in anywise responsible for that fraudulent bill of sale and the deception of the Louisiana courts for which it was used in the dastardly attempt to make a slave of a free man, will perhaps never be determined. The discovery of the Nash contract with its relation to the Nash case, and the publication of the story prove that it is not always safe to honor the memory of a man even more than sixty years after his death; while the persisting influence of the wrong attempted to be done to Nash, in its effect upon those responsible for it, again proves the great truth written by Schiller in *Piccolomini*, "It is the curse of evil deed that it must, constant, evil breed."

Aside from the Louisiana decision, which he prints in full, Mr. Prussing offers no other evidence that the bill of sale was forged, excepting this statement: "A recent thoroughgoing search of the records still preserved in Detroit shows no record of such a bill of sale as was produced at the trial, though several other documents between 1800 and 1820 in which Kinzie and Forsyth were parties appear there."

As to this, it may be noted that the fact that the record of a

document made more than a century ago at Detroit has not been found in recent research there, can hardly be considered any serious evidence to discredit it by anyone who is familiar with the old French record system, and with the occasional difficulty of finding in the existing Canadian records some document that would naturally be expected to be in existence. We have had a striking illustration of this in Indiana, in the effort to identify the Sieur de Vincennes who founded the first permanent settlement in this state. This has finally been accomplished by M. Pierre-Georges Roy,⁴ through the unearthing of a contemporary letter which certainly establishes who he was, but as yet nobody has been able to find any official record of the succession to the fief of Vincennes after the death of his father, nor any record of the legal process by which the fief passed from the Bissot family to the Roy family, twenty-one years later.

Detroit was a post of French Canada, and the Canadians did not have recorder's offices as we do. When a man had a document that required record, he took it to a notary public, who gave him a certified, or authenticated, copy of it, and filed the original in his notarial archives; and this custom continued at Detroit not only through the British occupation but also for a number of years after it came under American rule. The Canadian notary was an important official, and his office was, to some extent at least, hereditary. This was due to the fact that, on account of danger from fire, the notaries, at least those in substantial settlements, had to construct vaults in which to store their archives.⁵ Presumably there was not the same care exercised at the frontier posts. Indeed, some of the early Detroit deeds appear to have been recorded at Montreal.⁶ When General Gage ordered the people of Vincennes to furnish proofs of their land titles, a part of them explained that they were unable to do so because the village notary had decamped, carrying off part of the records, and others had been "eaten by rats, etc."⁷

There is nothing indicating great care of records at Detroit.

⁴ "Sieur de Vincennes identified," in Indiana historical society, *Publications*, volume 7, no. 1.

⁵ "Cadillac papers," in *Michigan pioneer and historical collections*, 34:116.

⁶ "Miscellaneous documents," *Ibid.*, 8:456, 471.

⁷ Ste. Marie to General Haldimand, translated in J. P. Dunn, "French settlements on the Wabash," in Indiana historical society, *Publications*, 2:423; *Ibid.*, 428.

In 1784, in anticipation of American control, the Detroit records then existing were removed to Quebec, but some of them were returned at a later date.⁸ The Canadian grants of land were made by the governors and intendants, but were subject to approval by the king, by what was known as his "brevet of confirmation." In 1805-1806 James May and others, in a memorial concerning some disputed land titles, stated: "it is not known whether or not the Brevet of Confirmation was ever given, and it is a Thing that at this late day cannot be enquired into, as the Archives of the French Government are not to be found in either of the Provinces of Canada."⁹ There was a law adopted in the Northwest territory for recorders' offices in 1795, but it provided only for records of deeds to land. Moreover, Detroit was not under its control at the time, and the system evidently was not adopted there, for one of the first laws of the territory of Michigan was to provide for the registration of deeds. Presumably the French notarial system continued until that time; and indeed the record of this bill of sale shows that it did, for there was no provision for recording bills of sale in the Northwest territory.

It may interest you to know that this same record system still exists in Canada. Being unable to find anything official as to the old French system, I sent an inquiry to the Honorable Arthur Doughty, the dominion archivist, and duly received the following memorandum from his office:

Article 4575 of the Revised Statutes of the Province of Quebec (1909) defines as follows the duties of notaries:

"Notaries are public officers, whose chief duty is to draw up and execute deeds and contracts, to which the parties are bound or desire to give the character of authenticity attached to acts entered into under public authority, to assure the date thereof, to have and preserve the same in safe keeping, and to deliver copies or extracts therefrom."

Article 4589 adds that

"The chief duties of a notary in addition to those above mentioned, or which may be contained in any other provisions of this chapter are:

1. To have a suitable place for his office and to keep his originals, repositories and indexes in a proper state of preservation."

⁸ James V. Campbell, *Outlines of the political history of Michigan* (Detroit, 1876), 190.

⁹ "Miscellaneous documents," in *Michigan pioneer collections*, 8:551.

The above duties were those of the old notaries of the Province of Quebec and Lower Canada. The original documents are kept on record by the notary; a repertory or register in which the deeds are entered, (but not copied *in extenso*) and an index are also kept by the notary. The documents or deeds filed in his "archives" are called *minutes*. Any person may take a document of any kind to a notary, to have it filed and authenticated.

There is a very important additional reason why a document recorded at Detroit in 1803 might not be found there now. On June 11, 1805, Detroit was completely destroyed by fire. The conflagration continued for four hours, and consumed every building in the place but one. The people got some of their personal effects out of the houses, and carried them to the river, but even there much of this personal property was set on fire by sparks, and burned up. The destruction was so complete that the old lot boundaries were abandoned, and a new town was laid out, each of the former lot-owners being allowed a lot in the new survey.¹⁰ The stories of this fire are quite detailed. Among them is one that the village baker had just put a batch of bread in his oven before the fire began; and that on investigating after the fire he found that it had been cooked to a turn, giving the victims of the fire a welcome supply of bread. But there is no account of the survival of any notary's vault, or of the preservation of any records. Under these conditions, it is obvious that any Detroit documents of date earlier than June 11, 1805, of which record was made at later dates, were certified copies that the owners had retained, and which had been gathered up from various sources. In the Nash case, the certified copy, if in existence at all, is presumably among the papers of the Louisiana court. The failure to find the document or the record at Detroit cannot be considered as material evidence that it did not at one time exist there.

¹⁰ Silas Farmer, *The history of Detroit and Michigan; or, the metropolis illustrated; a chronological cyclopaedia of the past and present, including a full report of territorial days in Michigan, and the annals of Wayne county* (Detroit, 1884), 489; Robert R. Ross and George B. Catlin, *Landmarks of Detroit* (Detroit, 1898), 278; "Reports of counties, towns, and districts," in *Michigan pioneer collections*, 1:346; C. M. Burton, "Some of the benefits that accrued to Detroit from the devastating fire of 1805," *Ibid.*, 22:432.

CHAPTER 2

On a pleasant afternoon of the year 1916, a solitary pedestrian might have been seen descending the staircase from the mezzanine floor of the Indiana state library. It was Dunn, the detective. For several years he had been submerged in political life, and had not had time to keep in touch with current historical research; but, having been handed the hot end of a political poker, he had again turned his eyes to the past. Association with men of the past has one advantage over association with the living. If you happen to fall among thieves, they cannot "spring up and choke you"—to borrow a scriptural phrase. The detective had found Mr. Prussing's article in looking over the last volume of the Wisconsin historical society's publications, and by it had been directed to Professor Quaife's volume, which he had not heretofore examined. He was now on his way to examine the original report of the Nash case, in the supreme court library. This was due to a misapprehension that Mr. Prussing had not reproduced the Louisiana decision in full, which was caused in part by the fact that the quoted report says nothing about the bill of sale being forged, and partly by the fact that the printer has improperly put a line of large type into the quoted words, which would naturally indicate an omission. We will now let the detective continue the story in his own words.

I was not greatly interested in the decision itself. Thirty years earlier I had made a rather full examination of the question, and had satisfied myself that slavery did exist legally in the Northwest territory, under the Ordinance of 1787, as to the slaves of the old French residents, although there were several decisions to the contrary in states outside of the Northwest territory. A Louisiana decision did not affect that conclusion, for the simple reason that Louisiana had no jurisdiction over the Northwest territory, and the decision of the Louisiana court had no effect except on the parties to the case before it. I found the decision as Mr. Prussing quoted it, but found no evidence of his deduction. Judge Martin, who made the decision, was also the reporter of the court, but the summary of the evidence in the case is a part of the court's decision, and the words referring to the bill of sale are as follows:

1. A bill of sale by which the defendant (Nash) was sold to them (Forsyth and Kinzie) "to have and to hold the said negro man, and to dispose of him, as they shall think proper." This instrument, bearing date the 5th of September, 1803, was executed at Detroit, in the Territory of Michigan, was there recorded, and is duly authenticated.

This language indicates that the document submitted in evidence was not a copy, but the original bill of sale; and if so, it was evidently one which was not required to be left with the notary. What the "record" was — whether a copy of the document, or a summary statement of its character, does not appear. But the essential fact is that the document was submitted to the court, and that it was judicially found that it "was executed at Detroit, was there recorded, and is duly authenticated." There is no indication that the genuineness of the bill of sale was questioned by anybody. What the court decided was that a bill of sale of that kind could not convey any title to a slave, because slavery could not exist in the Northwest territory under the ordinance of 1787. The theory that the bill of sale was a forgery therefore rests wholly on Professor Quaife's deduction, in these words: "In view of the fact that the articles of indenture whereby Nash bound himself 'voluntarily as a servant' to Kinzie and Forsyth for a term of seven years were executed in May, 1804, there seems to be no escape from the conclusion that the bill of sale was a forgery, fabricated for the use to which it was now put. Although it deceived the court, the fraud brought no profit to the plaintiffs." This is a very different proposition from that of Mr. Prussing that the Nash case "disclosed" that the plaintiffs "sought to hold Nash as a slave by virtue of a forged bill of sale."

But was the court deceived? The probabilities are against the supposition. Forgery is not common on the frontier. The crimes of the frontier are usually those of violence, and not of stealth. Forgery calls for expert penmanship, and if we may judge from the spelling and punctuation of the indenture of apprenticeship, the parties who drew it up would have had some difficulty in imposing on the Louisiana court, for it would have been necessary to forge the authentication as well as the bill itself. Judge Francois Xavier Martin was probably the most learned member of the Louisiana bench, and also the most

experienced in the examining of documents. He was born at Marseilles, France, and was well educated. At the age of seventeen he emigrated to Martinique; and after several years' stay there, came on to the United States. In 1786 he located at Newbern, N. C. Here he learned the printer's trade, conducted a newspaper, published school-books, almanacs, and decisions of the supreme court. He engaged in the practice of law, and served in the North Carolina legislature. In 1809 President Madison appointed him federal judge for Mississippi, and the next year he was transferred to the territory of Orleans. On the organization of the state of Louisiana he was made attorney general, and two years later a judge of the supreme court. He continued in this office until 1846, the year of his death. Although blind for the last ten years of his life, he reported the decisions of the supreme court while he remained on the bench. He also wrote a history of Louisiana and a history of North Carolina, besides numerous legal productions, in French and in English. The degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by the University of Nashville, and also by Harvard. A man of this character ought to have been at least a fair judge of the genuineness of a document before him for inspection.

Evidently, Judge Martin had no prejudice in favor of Forsyth and Kinzie, for he makes the following statement from the argument for the defense a part of his decision:

The apparent unlawfulness of the authority exercised by the plaintiffs over the defendant, to which he may have submitted from his ignorance of his right or of the means of asserting it, is not repelled by his admission that he had a master, that he belonged to a person who had promised him his freedom. For while it appears that the plaintiffs *de facto*, though not *de jure*, kept the defendant for a number of years in servitude, it cannot seem extraordinary that he should refer to them by the appellation of his masters, and the alleged promise of freedom may well be presumed to have been made to allure the defendant into submission. Neither it is said, can the admission of the defendant that he ran away be received as conclusive evidence of a legal obligation to stay: flight from unlawful servitude being more generally resorted to than the bold assertion of freedom. Kept for a number of years, perhaps from his birth, in bondage, the spirit of the injured negro is said to have been borne down, by the influence which long exerted mastery creates.

But these words must not be mistaken for evidence of the sympathy of the court with slaves. They are based on the court's opinion that Nash was free because slavery could not exist in the Northwest territory, and on the manner in which the suit was brought. In this case, the court says:

Whenever a plaintiff demands by suit that a person whom he brings into court as a defendant, and thereby admits to be in possession of his freedom, should be declared to be his slave, he must strictly make out his case.

But six months later, this same court, by this same judge, said, in the case of Trudeau's executor versus Robinette:¹¹

A slave considered as an object of property, is a *thing*, and as such not entitled or capable to resist the exercise of ownership on him (as an actor in a suit, or on a writ of habeas corpus nor as a defendant) on account of a want of title in the person who claims or uses him as property. If he bring suit, or be sued on a claim of property on him, the issue can only be *liber vel non*. If he prove his freedom, no title can exist in his opponent — till his freedom be proven, there is no person to stand in judgment with the claimant, who therefore could neither avail himself of nor be precluded by the judgment. . . . If the owner be unknown it is as if he did not exist. If he be known and absent, the court below might have appointed a person to interfere in his behalf. Owners ought not to be subjected to support or exhibit their titles contradictorily with their slaves. Whenever the issue of *liber vel non* is found in their favor, the court must give judgment for them, without any inquiry into the title.

The Nash case was a cold-blooded, unsentimental decision of law, and it was rational enough, as the case was presented, although it was erroneous, in my opinion, as to the legal question involved. One of the most extensive fields for research in this country is the conflict of legal decisions by our courts of last resort. These are so numerous, and extend to so many subjects, that very frequently the utmost that can be said by the legal writer, or the conscientious judge, is that "the weight of authority" is thus and so. In the study of such cases, the investigator may occasionally find a case in which he is convinced that the court has been bought, though he may not always deem it prudent to say so. More frequently he will find cases where the

¹¹ 2 Martin, p. 272.

court appears to have been influenced by partisan considerations of one kind or another. Much more commonly he will find cases that are probably the result of unconscious mental bias, such, for example, as the conflicting opinions of the strict and liberal constructionists of the national constitution.

In this Louisiana case there was one mental bias that probably had some influence on the decision. Louisiana was the only state of the union that had the civil law instead of the common law. In the civil law the statute is everything, while the common law is the growth of decisions of the courts based on the fundamental rights of citizens, and only modified by statutes. The common law states usually put voluminous bills of rights into their constitutions. The Louisiana constitution of 1812 has no bill of rights. There are, however, a few *magna charta* rights reserved in a miscellaneous section, but the only one of these affecting property rights is a declaration against impairing the obligation of contracts. There was also a fundamental difference in the conception of legislative power. In civil law countries, the laws were usually arbitrary edicts of the ruler. For example, the original *code noir* of Louisiana, which was promulgated in 1724, and parts of which remained while slavery existed in Louisiana, opened with these words: "By the advice of our Council, and by our certain knowledge, full power, and Royal authority, We have said, decreed and ordered, We say, decree and order, wish and it pleases us, the following." Here follows the law; and at its conclusion come the words, "For such is our will."

Such was the legislative power of the state to the civil law jurist; and when the absolute ruler was gone, that power was vested in congress and the state legislatures. When congress said that slavery should not exist in the Northwest territory, that settled it. An interference with property rights might be painful, but it was not material. When the original *code noir* was put into operation, there was a prolonged howl from the colonists at its interference with their property rights, but it was enforced nevertheless. But the weak point of the Nash case, as a ruling for general application, is that the grounds for the slavery that actually existed in the Northwest territory were not presented, nor even hinted at, in the discussion of the question. This was evidently due to the fact that neither the lawyers nor

the court knew anything about them. They had not been made public in an official way.

There can be no question that the tolerance of slavery in the Northwest territory rested on Governor Arthur St. Clair's ruling on the subject, for an established system had grown up under him before any of his successors came into office. But his rulings were by private letters. He could not issue edicts or proclaim ordinances like the old world rulers, nor could he make decisions like a court. But he could establish a policy, and he did so. From the first time the question was presented to him, by Bartholomew Tardiveau, in 1789, he maintained that the ordinance of 1787 was not intended to apply to the slaves in that region prior to its passage. And if anybody could be considered an absolutely unbiased contemporary judge of the question, St. Clair was the man. He was president of the congress that passed the ordinance; was a delegate to that congress from a free state; and was always opposed to any further introduction of slavery into the territory.

Opinions may differ as to the correctness of his reasoning, but his two stated reasons appear to me unanswerable. The first was that "retroactive laws being generally unjust in their nature have ever been discountenanced in the United States, and in most of them are positively forbidden." It may be answered that congress, nevertheless, had power to make a retroactive law. Possibly; but you can hardly say that it intended to do so by an ordinance in which it expressly said: "In the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in said territory, that shall in any manner whatever interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements bona fide, and without fraud previously formed."

His second reason was that as slavery had been authorized by the ancient laws, and the slaves were property acquired under those laws, "Congress would not divest any person of that property without making him a compensation." To a plea that congress had power to do this, the answer comes again, that you can hardly say that congress intended to do so by an ordinance in which it expressly declared: "No man shall be deprived of his liberty or his property, but by the judgment of his peers, or by

the law of the land; and should the public exigencies make it necessary for the common preservation to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same."

There was another reason that St. Clair did not state, but which possibly affected his judgment. It is simply incredible that every southern delegate present would have voted for the ordinance, if he had imagined that it deprived people who had been citizens of Virginia, and for the preservation of whose property rights Virginia had expressly stipulated in her deed of cession to the United States, of property which they had owned under the laws of Virginia. There is no cause for questioning the statement of Tardiveau, in his letter of June 30, 1789, to St. Clair, that while at New York, he had brought this matter to the attention of President Washington, "and several other members of the late Congress," and had been assured that "the intention of the obnoxious resolution had been solely to prevent the future importation of slaves into the Federal country; that it was not meant to affect the rights of the ancient inhabitants."¹²

But, if this be true, why did not congress state plainly what it did mean? The explanation is furnished by the statement of Nathan Dane: "When I drew the ordinance (which passed, a few words excepted, as I originally formed it) I had no idea the States would agree to the sixth article, prohibiting slavery, as only Massachusetts, of the Eastern States, was present, and therefore omitted it from the draft; but finding the House favorably disposed on this subject, after we had completed the other parts, I moved the article which was agreed to without opposition."¹³ Congress had been wrangling over the government of the Northwest territory for three years, and a large part of the ordinance had taken form during that period. It was now acting rapidly, under pressure of the Ohio company's proposed purchase, and all attention was turned to the anticipated settlement of the lands by people from the states. It is doubtful that anyone gave a thought to the French settlers at the time; and indeed it is not certain that there was anyone present who knew that they had any slaves. The eleventh hour amendment went

¹² William H. Smith, *The St. Clair papers. The life and public services of Arthur St. Clair, with his correspondence and other papers* (Cincinnati, 1882), 2:118.

¹³ Letter in *New York Tribune*, February 28, 1855.

through, in all probability, with the scant consideration so often seen in the passage of bills in the closing hours of most of our legislative bodies, and with no thought of the construction later put upon it.

It may be possible that these considerations would not have altered the opinion of the Louisiana court, even if there had been any way of proving to the court that Governor St. Clair had acted uniformly on this basis, and his opinion had been followed throughout the territory. But it is beyond question that under this construction a system of slavery was thereafter maintained throughout the territory, where the French settlers were found. I know of no more exact statement of the situation than that of Judge Thomas M. Cooley, who was a careful historian as well as the foremost American authority on constitutional law, of his generation:

The slaves in the Northwest Territory, as regards the legal questions affecting their liberty, might be ranged in three classes; the first embracing those who were in servitude to French owners previous to the cession of jurisdiction to England, and who were still claimed as property in which the owners were protected under the treaty of cession; the second, those who were held by British owners at the time of Jay's treaty and claimed afterwards as property under its protection; and the third, those who since the territory had come under American control had been brought into it from states in which slavery was lawful. In the case of the first two classes the claim of the masters was generally recognized as indisputable, and it was always enforced when contested; the third class, when held at all, as was not unfrequently the case, were quite as generally believed to be held in evasion or defiance of law.¹⁴

Apparently, Jeffrey Nash belonged in Judge Cooley's second class, for he is described in the bill of sale, in 1803, as a "negro man," and therefore must have been born before 1793. Detroit had been a slave market for the Indians, who captured the negroes in their raids on the American settlements; and there had also been numerous purchases from Americans, especially through parties at Schenectady. Some of these were resold elsewhere, as in the case of the mother of "Polly," on whom the Indiana test case on slavery was made; but DePeyster's census of 1782 showed 249 slaves at Detroit. This traffic continued

¹⁴ Thomas M. Cooley, *Michigan, a history of governments (American commonwealths—Boston 1886)*, 131.

until 1793, when the Canadian parliament prohibited further importation, and provided for gradual emancipation, those then slaves to so continue for life, and their children to become free at the age of twenty-five. After 1793 there was no legal importation of slaves to Detroit.

Detroit did not actually come into the Northwest territory until July 11, 1796, under Jay's treaty, which included this provision: "All settlers and traders shall continue to enjoy unmolested all their property of every kind. It shall be free to them to sell their lands, houses or effects, or to retain the property thereof at their discretion." The existing slavery continued under this provision without legal question for eleven years, when it was brought before Chief Justice Woodward, of the Michigan court for decision. The case is stated as follows by Judge James V. Campbell, of Michigan, an accomplished scholar, and learned jurist:

In 1807 a very curious case arose concerning slavery. Mrs. Catherine Tucker was required, upon *habeas corpus*, to answer for the detention of Elizabeth and Scipio Denison, persons of color, and she justified on the ground that they were held as slaves at the time of the surrender of the post in 1796, and were assured to her under Jay's Treaty, in spite of the provision against slavery in the ordinance of 1787. Judge Woodward gave the matter a very elaborate examination, and wrote a full opinion sustaining her right. The case was decided on the 23d of September. A few days after, application was made for the arrest and delivery of some Pawnee (pani) and mulatto slaves, who had escaped from their masters, Mr. Pattinson and Matthew Elliott, who resided in Canada. In this case the decision was emphatic that there was no obligation to give up fugitives from a foreign jurisdiction.¹⁵

The exact decision of Judge Woodward was in these words:

All slaves living on the 31st day of May, 1793, and in the possession of settlers in this Territory on the 11th day of July, 1796, continue such for life. The children of the females of them born after the 31st day of May, 1793, and previous to the erection of the county of Wayne, and the establishment of the American system of jurisprudence, continue in servitude for twenty-five years. After this period they are absolutely free. Their children, born before or after this period, are absolutely free from their birth; persons other than those who have been described are free by the congressional provision of 1787, excepting only those

¹⁵ *History of Michigan*, 246.

who are refugees from service or labor in another state, and then these must be restored to those lawfully entitled to claim such labor or service.

So far as I have learned, these decisions of the Michigan court were not published until 1888, when they appeared in the *Michigan pioneer collections*.¹⁶

If they had been before the Louisiana court, and its attention had been directed to the provision of Jay's treaty, I think the decision in the Nash case would have been otherwise. Under the constitution of the United States a treaty has the same rank as a law. The ordinance of 1787 has no higher rank than a law, except it be as to the "articles of compact," which were "unalterable, unless by common consent." The ratification of the treaty, and the continuance of slavery under it would fairly constitute "consent." But, no matter what the Louisiana court might have done, it is a waste of time to question the legality of a thing that is recognized as legal by all of the authorities—executive, legislative, and judicial—of the region where it exists. I once urged on an old lawyer that a certain decision of our supreme court was unconstitutional. He replied: "Young man, a decision of the supreme court cannot be unconstitutional. What the supreme court declares to be the constitution is the constitution." And so it is, unless the supreme court should reverse its decision. And even then, the judicial wobble might with accuracy be classed as an expeditious mode of amending the constitution.

CHAPTER 3

On the basis thus far established, that slavery was to a certain extent legal in the Northwest territory; that Jeffrey Nash was legally a slave, and that both the bill of sale and the indenture of apprenticeship were genuine documents, the mystery of the case merely changed front. Why should Forsyth and Kinzie, who had a perfectly good title to the negro, put him under indenture of apprenticeship eight months after they had purchased him? And why, after taking this step, did they abandon the apprenticeship and go back to the bill of sale? Had anything happened in Indiana territory between September 5, 1803, and May 22, 1804, that would explain so extraordinary an occurrence? My

¹⁶ "Opinions of Judge Woodward relative to the subject of slavery," in *Michigan pioneer collections*, 12:511-522.

thought at once reverted to the law of 1803 "Concerning Servants," which forthwith became the next point of investigation. This law was adopted on September 22, 1803, less than three weeks after the date of the bill of sale, by Governor Harrison and the two judges, Vanderburgh and Davis. Its first section reads: "All negroes and mulattoes (and other persons not being citizens of the United States of America) who shall come into this territory under contract to serve another in any trade or occupation, shall be compelled to perform such contract specifically during the term thereof." The term "persons not being citizens of the United States" was the common legal designation for Indians, and was obviously intended to cover the Indian slaves held on the frontier, and commonly known as "panis." The fugitive slave clause of the ordinance of 1787 applied to white apprentices — to any "person from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the Original States" — but this law, in addition to the restrictions in the first section, provided that: "In all cases of penal laws, where free persons are punishable by fine, servants shall be punished by whipping, after the rate of twenty lashes for every eight dollars, so that no servant shall receive more than forty lashes at any one time, unless such offender can procure some person to pay the fine."

This law also contained an enigmatic provision in section 9, as follows: "No negro, mulatto or Indian shall at any time purchase any servant, other than of their own complexion; and if any of the persons aforesaid, shall nevertheless presume to purchase a white servant, such servant shall immediately become free, and shall be so held, deemed and taken." This provision was later made the basis of a charge that Governor Harrison had legalized white slavery in Indiana territory; and it would so appear unless the section was intended to apply to white apprentices, and the word "servant" was used inadvertently.

Though this law did not apply to Jeffrey Nash, for he had not been brought into the territory under any contract of service, yet the inference of a connection between it and the Nash indenture was so strong that I could not dismiss it from my mind. Finally it occurred to me that I had seen a singular statement about the delay in receiving the territorial laws at Detroit, in a petition from there for a separate territorial government for

Wayne county, and I instituted a search for this petition. Several days of ransacking the historical documents in which it might be supposed to be found, disclosed various references to it, but no copy of it. Then it dawned on me that it might be among some unpublished documents of which I had made copies at Washington, while writing my *Indiana* in 1885.

It may interest some of my hearers to know that there is in the state department at Washington a large collection of documents referring to the Northwest territory, which have never been published, but have been at the rather exclusive use of certain eastern writers. I broke into their preserve during the reign of Grover Cleveland, of blessed memory, by means of a forcible political "pull." My legal preceptor, Joseph E. McDonald, was in the senate at the time, and was a close friend of Secretary Bayard. He took me to Bayard's office, and explained my wishes. The secretary sent for the third assistant secretary, and told him to take me to the department librarian, and instruct him to give me access to any documents in the library, which was promptly done. Notwithstanding my formidable introduction, I came near having to fight for everything I got. The librarian was a scion of a notable New England family—a family recognized even in Boston,

"The home of the bean and the cod,
Where the Cabots speak only to Lowells,
And the Lowells speak only to God."

That anaemic youth watched me like a hawk; and the way he glared at me when, on being informed that they did not have something I wanted, I insisted in looking for myself—which I had discovered was the only way of making sure of anything at Washington—was literally and truly fierce.

My experience in this matter was not unique. In the preface to his *History of Detroit*, Silas Farmer says: "By persevering effort, continued for nearly a year, and with the help of Senator H. P. Baldwin, ex-President R. B. Hayes, and Governor Charles Foster, I obtained access to the St. Clair papers nearly two years before they were opened to the public eye, and long before they were published in book form."¹⁷ Think of it! All that effort

¹⁷ p. ix.

to get access to public documents which should have been accessible to any person of reasonable respectability.

William Henry Smith, who encountered the wire entanglements around this eastern preserve while editing the St. Clair papers, ventilated the literary graft in a published article, in the *New York Tribune*, which was met by silence and the continuation of the system. Possibly some day the historical interests of this region may have influence enough with congress to get those documents published; but I venture the prediction that it will not be until after Senator Henry Cabot Lodge has been laid in the tomb, with the honors appertaining to a "scholar in politics."

To resume, I finally succeeded in getting what I wanted, and among other things this Michigan petition. It is dated at Detroit, October 24, 1804; and after reciting that the petitioners had had a petition before the last session of congress for "a separate territory," and had failed to secure action on it, it proceeds:

Did your petitioners conceive it necessary to enumerate new and additional reasons, showing the expediency of granting their prayers, many might be adduced. One in particular, we beg leave to state, which shows forcibly the impossibility of the present government to extend law to us. From good authority we state, that in the month of September, A.D. 1803, the legislature of the Indiana territory adopted several laws, altering, amending and repealing those then in force, yet those laws, although adopted more than twelve months past, have never yet been seen in this place, [and] of course have not come into operation in this district; by stating this fact, we do not intend to attach any blame or censure upon our governor, but to demonstrate the impracticability of communicating with the seat of government.

Here was a tangible clue. The Vincennes convention of 1802 had petitioned congress for the admission of slavery to the territory. This had been presented and referred on February 8, and on March 2, 1803, John Randolph had made his memorable report, which not only refused the petition, but was couched in language that seemed to indicate the opinion that slavery did not exist lawfully in the territory. The session of the governor and judges in 1803 had passed only eight laws, and seven resolutions, most of them referring to courts and fees. The one law of the session that would naturally have attracted public notice

and would have been spread rapidly through the territory as an interesting bit of news, was the law concerning servants. But in traveling so far as Detroit by rumor, its character would probably have had some alterations. If the Detroit petitioners had desired to be specific, they would probably have said that they had heard that the governor and judges had changed the established law concerning slavery, but that they had not yet been able to learn just what the change was. Their concern in the matter suggests that as the report reached them, it may have been to the effect that if the people desired to hold their slaves they must put them under indentures of apprenticeship. Presumably the situation at Chicago was the same as at Detroit, and Forsyth and Kinzie decided to make assurance doubly sure by apprenticing their slave. When they learned the actual nature of the law, they abandoned the apprenticeship scheme entirely, which they were legally entitled to do. In reality, the fatal weakness of the law of 1803 was in the fact that by the universally recognized law of slavery a slave could not make a valid contract, because he had no will. Consequently the Nash indenture was legally nothing but "a scrap of paper."

This solution of the mystery has some confirmation in the Louisiana proceedings, with which Forsyth and Kinzie apparently had no direct connection but were represented by Duchouquet, who had the earmarks of a professional "nigger-catcher," and who testified that Forsyth "employed him in 1813, to stop the defendant." The time when Nash ran away was not definitely shown, but Pierre LeVasseur testified that it was "about six years ago," which would have made it somewhere near the close of the seven years of his apprenticeship. There was no reference whatever to the apprenticeship in the Louisiana proceedings, except in the statement of Nash before the mayor of New Orleans that he was a runaway slave, but his masters had "promised him his freedom." What he probably meant was that when he consented to the apprenticeship he had been told that it would make him a free man in seven years, instead of being a slave for life. It may be that he figured that his seven years were up when he ran away, and that he would take the freedom which had been promised him.

On this theory of the case, the Louisiana court attained very

substantial justice, but on a misconception of law. Nash was morally entitled to his freedom, unless he had run away before his term of seven years was completed and as we have seen, it must have been nearly if not fully completed when he decamped. When white apprentices of this period ran away, the masters usually published facetious notices offering one cent reward for their return, possibly with intent of spiting the runaway by preventing employment elsewhere, but more usually, no doubt, to let the world know that they were not losing much. I cannot accept the law announced by the Louisiana court, but I am ready to pay the tribute to the memory of the judges, that they builded wiser than they knew; and happy is the man of whose work, in any line, that may be said.

CHAPTER 4

There remains one other question of interest — the oppressive character of the stipulations of the contract of apprenticeship entered into by Nash, which has been referred to. The contract itself, as set out by Mr. Prussing, is as follows:

This Indenture Witnesseth that Jeffre Nash (Negro man) of the County of Wayne hath put himself servant and by these presence doth bind himself voluntarily as a servant to Mess^{rs}. Kinzie & Forsyth Merchants of Chicago to serve said Kinzie & Forsyth their heirs or assigns after the manner of a servant | to serve from the day of the date hereof for and dureing the full term of seven Years next ensuing | dureing all which time he the said servant his said masters shall faithfully serve | their Secrets keep | their lawfully Command every where gladly Obey — he shall do no damage to his said Masters | He shall not wast his Master's goods nor lend them unlawfully to others | He shall not commit Fornication nor contract Matrimony within said Term. At dice Cards or any unlawfull game he shall not play whereby his said Masters may be damaged | with his own goods or the goods of others dureing the said Term without licence of his said Masters he shall neither buy nor sell | he shall not absent day nor Night from his said Masters service without their leave nor haunt Taverans or any plase or places without permission From said Masters but in all things behave himself as a faithfull Servant ought to do dureing the said Term | and the said Masters shall provide for him the said Servant sufficient meat drink apparel washing and Lodgings fitting for a servant dureing said Term | and for the true performance of all and every the said Covenants and agreements Either of the

said parties bind themselves unto the other by these presents. — In Witness whereof the[y] have Enterchangeably put their hands and seals this twenty second day of May in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Eight hundred and four.

Signed sealed and delivered
in the presence of Us

JAMES FORSYTH
JOHN LALIME
Witnesses

KINZIE & FORSYTH
his
JEFFRE X NASH
mark

Endorsed: JEFFREY NASH Indenture 1804

This document appears a trifle exacting in the present day and generation; but Professor Quaife is correct in his deduction that: "Doubtless the quaint language of the indenture simply followed the customary form of such documents." It did, except in the use of the word "servant." At that time, and for many years afterward the word "servant" was practically equivalent to "slave," just as it is in the Bible. The Indiana indenture law of 1803 was a "law concerning servants," The same usage was common throughout the country, and this is the reason why foreign travellers, especially those from England, where the word did not have the same meaning, commented so frequently on the objection of American working people to being spoken of as "servants." In reality this form of indenture was the one in common use for white apprentices, except as to this one word; but if anybody had called an ordinary white apprentice a servant he would have given an impetus to a riot.

In the library of the supreme court of Indiana, there are preserved two form books, which I suppose were in use in the territorial period of Indiana, as the library had its inception at Vincennes, in that period; and I can conceive of no reason for their acquisition after that period, as the library has never had a superabundance of funds which might lead to the purchase of curios. One of these is entitled *The scriveners guide*, by Nicholas Covert, this being a fourth edition, revised by William Bohun. It was printed in London in 1724. On page 126 is given a form for "An indenture of apprenticeship in the usual form," which is largely identical in wording with the Nash indenture except as to the purpose of the apprenticeship. It is as follows:

This indenture witnesseth, that R. C. of the Parish of St. Margarets Westminster, and of the County of Middlesex; doth, by these presents, put and place himself Apprentice to N. B. of the Parish and County aforesaid, Sword Cutler, to live with him, and after the Manner of an Apprentice to serve him, from the Daye of the Date hereof for and during and unto the full End and Term of Seven Years, from thence next ensuing fully to be compleat and ended: During which said Term of Seven Years, the said Apprentice his said Master faithfully shall and will serve, his Secrets keep, his lawful Commands every where gladly do: He shall do no Damage to his said Master, nor see or suffer it to be done of others, but to his Power shall lett or hinder the same, or forthwith give Notice thereof to his said Master. The Goods of his said Master he shall not spend or waste, nor the same, without Licence of his said Master, give or lend to any; He shall not commit fornication nor contract Matrimony within the said Term: Hurt to his said Master he shall not do, or cause or procure to be done: With his own Goods or others, during the said Term, he shall not traffick or buy or sell, without Licence of his said Master: He shall not haunt Taverns, Ale houses or Play-houses, during the said Term; nor from the service of his said Master by Day or Night absent himself: But in all Things as an honest and faithful Apprentice shall and will demean and behave himself towards his said Master and all his during the said Term. And the said Master his said Apprentice in the Art, Mystery, Trade or Occupation of a Sword-Cutler, which he the said Master now useth, shall teach and instruct, or cause to be taught and instructed, by the best Way and Manner that he can, finding and allowing unto his said Apprentice sufficient, wholesome Meat, Drink, Washing, Lodging and Apparel, and all other Necessaries, during the said Term; and at the End thereof to give his said Apprentice one compleat new Suit of Apparel both of Linen and Wollen, and also, &c. In witness whereof the said parties to these Indentures interchangeably have set their Hands and Seals this Five and twentieth Day of November, in the Second Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, &c. King, Defender of the Faith, Annoq; Domine 1715.

Sealed and delivered in
the Presence of

It will be noted that the one restrictive provision of the Nash indenture not included in this old form is: "At dice Cards or any unlawfull game he shall not play whereby his said Masters may be damaged." In an alternative form, however, immediately following this, in which the apprentice's father is to join,

occurs the provision: "At Cards, Dice or any other unlawful Game he shall not play." In this connection it may be noted that the common law of England had been adopted for all of the Northwest territory in 1795, that it was treated as continuing in all the territories and states into which it was later divided, and that gaming was always illegal. Indeed, in Indiana, selling a deck of playing cards was a penal offense until the middle of the last century.¹⁸

The second form book mentioned is entitled "A magistrate's guide and citizen's counsellor," and was the very latest thing in forms at this period. In fact it was too late to have been used in the Nash case, for it was printed at Fredericktown, Maryland, in 1805, by John Colvin. On page 101 of this is given, "Form of an Indenture where an Apprentice is bound out by his Father," and it is interesting to note what slight progress had been made towards simplification in the eighty years since the other book was printed. The form is as follows:

This indenture witnesseth, that (A. B.) hath put himself, and by these presents, by and with the consent of his parents, doth voluntarily, and of his own free will and accord, put himself apprentice to (C. D. sadler) to learn his art, trade and mystery, and after the manner of an apprentice to serve (him, the said C. D. his heirs and assigns) from the day of the date hereof, for and during, and to the full end of (seven years), which term the said apprentice his said master faithfully shall serve, his secrets keep, his lawful commands every where readily obey. He shall do no damage to his said master, nor see it done by others, without telling or giving notice thereof to his master. He shall not contract matrimony within the said term. He shall not play at cards, dice, or any other unlawful game, whereby his master may have damage. With his own goods, nor the goods of others, without licence from his said master, he shall neither buy nor sell. He shall not absent himself day nor night from his said master's service, without his leave: Nor haunt alehouses, taverns, or play-houses: But in all things behave himself as a faithful apprentice ought to do, during the said term. And the said master shall use the utmost of his endeavor to teach, or cause to be taught or instructed, the said apprentice in the trade or mystery of (a sadler) and procure and provide for him sufficient meat drink (wearing apparel) lodging and washing fitting for an apprentice, during the term of (seven years).

¹⁸ *Revised statutes of the state of Indiana*, 1843, p. 985.

And for the performance of all and singular the covenants and agreements aforesaid, the said parties bind themselves, each unto the other by these presents.

In witness whereof, the said parties have interchangeably set their hands and seals hereunto. Dated the (third) day of (September) Anno Domini one thousand (eight) hundred and (four).

Subscribed and acknowledged before

A. B.

SEAL

(a justice of the peace.)

C. D.

SEAL

These provisions seem rather severe today, but this is due to a social revolution. Orphans and paupers are still bound as apprentices on much this same basis, but the ordinary trade apprentice does not differ materially from other employees. In old times the apprentice went to live with his master as a member of the family, and the master stood in *loco parentis* to him. As a parent he was bound to look after the apprentice's moral welfare as well as his temporal welfare, and the restrictions on the apprentice were considered moral restrictions. But, to compensate the master for this service to a stranger, he was entitled to the apprentice's labor, just as he was to the services of his own children; and still is, although it is seldom exacted. It is common enough, however, to read in the biography of some successful man of the last generation, that he, at the age of sixteen or seventeen, "bought his time" from his father—i.e., paid for release from this liability, and went into business for himself. Under the old system, if the apprentice "contracted matrimony," it meant that the master would have to support the bride as well as the apprentice.

With the submission of these documents, I am ready to report my solution of the Nash case, which is this:

Jeffrey Nash was legally a slave notwithstanding the Louisiana decision. He was legally purchased by Forsyth and Kinzie, by bill of sale, which was duly recorded and authenticated. A few months after his purchase, his owners received information that the governor and judges of Indiana had adopted a law providing that residents of the territory who desired to hold their slaves must put them under articles of apprenticeship. They accordingly drew up an indenture of apprenticeship, following some old form book in their possession, which was very

probably an English publication, as they had once been in business at Detroit. They obtained the signature of Nash to this contract by telling him that it would make him a free man in seven years. After they learned the real character of the law, they repudiated the contract, and claimed title to Nash under the original bill of sale.

This course was not to their credit. It is true that they were under no legal obligation to abide by the contract. Nash, being a slave, was not capable of making a contract; and, legally, the contract was void. It is apparent that they entered into the contract under a misapprehension as to the law and the facts; but that was no fault of Nash. It was their own proposal, and they thought they were doing a good thing for themselves when they did it. Their action is on a par with somewhat common cases in which persons, supposing themselves in great danger, make Jephtha vows to do something religious if they escape; but on finding that their danger was imaginary, file pleas of "no consideration" against the Almighty, and cancel the vows. Their course would not have been followed by the frontier gentleman who stated as one article of his moral code: "There are two kinds of debts that a man should always pay—his debts of honor, and his church debts." In the expressive phrase of the present generation, Forsyth and Kinzie were not good sports.

MORAL

I wish to offer a few suggestions that may possibly be of some service to younger workers in historical research. If I were teaching a class of that kind, I should have my students read Gaboriau's detective stories. The task would not be irksome, and indeed, it would not be a bad test of their fitness; for a student who would not enjoy these stories is not naturally fitted for historical research. There would be no especial advantage in reading all of them, and there are several that will usually be found on the shelves of any well selected circulating library. Perhaps the one entitled "File No. 113" would best answer my purpose, which is to impress on the student the cardinal maxim of Gaboriau's detective, M. Lecoq, which is this: "In a mysterious case, suspect what seems probable; examine carefully what seems improbable, or even impossible." This may possibly

strike you as fanciful, at first thought; but consider it. In an ordinary case you reach a correct conclusion by an intelligent following of probabilities; but you cannot do this in a mysterious case, for the obvious reason that if nothing had happened but what was probable, there would be nothing mysterious about it. The real question in a mysterious case is: what is the improbable thing that did happen?

With this I would contrast the maxim of Conan Doyle, which is much more commonly known on account of the wide circulation of the Sherlock Holmes stories, and may be stated thus: "If you can eliminate all of the theories of a case but one, that one must necessarily be true." It is astonishing how widely this rule has been accepted, although it has two apparent fallacies. The first is that you may "eliminate" the true theory because from an imperfect knowledge of the facts, it seems impossible. The second is that you may never have thought of the correct theory at all. And yet this maxim was solemnly argued to the supreme court by the attorney general of Indiana, in the celebrated *Hinshaw* case, with what effect I can not say; but the result of the case was that the defendant was sent to the penitentiary for a crime that, in my opinion, he could not possibly have committed. I do not wish to aver that Professor Quaife is a disciple of Conan Doyle; but I think he was mentally following Doyle's maxim when he wrote: "In view of the fact that the articles of indenture whereby Nash bound himself 'voluntarily as a servant' to Kinzie and Forsyth for a term of seven years were executed in May, 1804, there seems to be no escape from the conclusion that the bill of sale was a forgery, fabricated for the use to which it was now put."

Second: remember that the correct theory of any case must be consistent with all the facts. If there is a single fact, of which you are absolutely certain, which is inconsistent with your theory, there must be something wrong with the theory.

Third: the one constant factor in human history is human nature. No matter what nationality you may be dealing with; and no matter what the period, from the mound-builders down to the present, you may be sure that love and hate, avarice and generosity, virtue and vice, revenge and charity, were attributes of all, varying only in degree. The things that are subject

to change are manners, customs, knowledge, beliefs, moral standards, and the like. Hence, be cautious about applying the standards of today to other ages. Put yourself as nearly as possible in the place of the characters you are studying, and estimate probabilities from their point of view.

Fourth: man is a rational being, and in anything that sane men do they are following some line of reason. They may do absurd things on account of error in the premises from which they reason; or they may draw erroneous conclusions from the facts; but even in such cases, if I may use a paradoxical expression, they are irrationally rational.

In conclusion, I would urge on younger students, do not abandon knotty problems. On the contrary, whenever you find a puzzling question, which you cannot answer, stow it away with your mental treasures; and ponder it when you have nothing else on hand. You may never find the solution; but again, years later you may stumble on some fact that will furnish your explanation. If you make a practice of saving up puzzling questions, you are almost sure to find the solution of some of them; and if you do, you will have the material for a good historical story.

JACOB P. DUNN

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

APPENDIX

(Michigan petition of 1804.)

MEMORIAL

To the Honorable the Senate, and the Honorable the House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled.

We the undersigned memorialists, citizens and inhabitants of that district of the Indiana territory, situate North of the East and West line, extending thro' the southerly bend of lake Michigan, humbly pray the speedy interposition of Congress, in relief of oppression and embarrassments under which we at present labor, originating in local causes, and which your memorialists endeavored to point out and impress with force, by their petitions, presented to Congress, at their last session, praying for a separate territory. Notwithstanding the unhappy fate which those petitions met with, and the consequent disappointments your memorialists experienced, on failure of their wishes, yet our present situation is

too distressing to justify our silence upon a subject of such infinite consequence to the government, to ourselves, and to our posterity.

But one sentiment prevails within this district, upon the expediency as well as necessity of a separate territory; it is but too evident, that upon the success of this single measure, depends the happiness, good order, and prosperity of the citizens of this district, while its failure cannot but produce consequences of a serious and alarming nature, tending to all the horrors of outlawry, oppression and anarchy.

Impressed with a full belief, that our government are desirous of increasing the happiness of the citizen, regardless of the quarter of the union he may inhabit, we are again induced earnestly to solicit Congress, that our situation may not be passed over in silence, but that Congress will, at an early period in the approaching session, take up and reconsider the prayer of your memorialists, presented at the last session, and if possible, and consistent with sound policy, grant to your memorialists a separate, distinct, and independent territory, as prayed for in said memorial, and for the causes therein named.

Did your petitioners conceive it necessary to enumerate new and additional reasons, showing the expediency of granting their prayers, many might be adduced. One in particular, we beg leave to state, which shows forcibly the impossibility of the present government to extend law to us.

From good authority we state, that in the month of September, A.D. 1803, the legislature of the Indiana territory adopted several laws, altering, amending and repealing those then in force, yet those laws, although adopted more than twelve months past, have never yet been seen in this place, [and] of course have not come into operation in this district; by stating this fact, we do not intend to attach any blame or censure upon our governor, but to demonstrate the impracticability of communicating with the seat of government.

We beg further to state, that active measures are now on foot through the territory for entering upon the second or representative grade of government; this step if successful, will greatly add to the burthens under which we now labor, by an increase of taxes, without any possible chance of sharing a proportional benefit.

Your petitioners, therefore do again renew their prayer, that Congress will erect into a separate territory, that district of land north of the above mentioned line, and grant your petitioners a government, similar to the one contemplated by the ordinance of Congress of 1787, for the organization and government of the late North West territory. And as in duty bound, will ever pray.

JAMES MAY, and OTHERS

Detroit.

24th October, 1804.

ELIJAH CLARKE'S FOREIGN INTRIGUES AND THE "TRANS-OCONEE REPUBLIC"

In the early days of the American republic, foreign nations failed to respect the independent position which had been attained by this new government. Rather, they considered it legitimate ground for intrigues, a remnant for a "tail to the European kite." And indeed many Americans themselves, still swayed by the passions of the revolution and unsettled from its turmoils, had not come to realize the part that law and order were to play. As a result, they too often became the willing tools of foreign powers; or, mistaking their own wild ambitions for patriotism, they engaged in ventures that, to say the least, tended toward the destruction of state and nation. Successive intrigues by England, France, and Spain are too well known to mention; so are the contributory ventures of such men as James Wilkinson, Burr, and George Rogers Clark. Not so well known, but of equal importance in their possibilities, were certain projects by Elijah Clarke. His name is linked with two ventures, which, though in ultimate purposes entirely separated, were in conception closely related. Hence it has been deemed proper to treat both in the same paper.

Elijah Clarke was a bold partisan leader in Georgia during the revolution. He took a conspicuous part in the war of extermination waged between the whigs and tories throughout the southern frontiers from the Carolinas to Florida. He came out of the struggle an inveterate foe to Great Britain, with his strong native passions intensified and with a consciousness of important powers wielded in the past and still capable of use. After the revolution he found a vent for his restless nature in the Creek wars that sprang up all along the frontier. But hazy ambitions for greater things began to form, and in following these Clarke failed to define clearly the limit where patriotism ended and movements destructive to his government began. The arrival of Genêt in Charleston in 1793 with his schemes of

conquest gave Clarke his first opportunity to further his larger ambitions.¹

Genêt's proposed conquest of the Spanish possessions contemplated two important expeditions: one to gather in the Ohio river country under George Rogers Clark, to float down the Mississippi to take Louisiana; the other to be made up in South Carolina and Georgia to march on East and West Florida. Genêt left the active management of affairs in this latter venture to Mangourit, the French consul at Charleston. Samuel Hammond and William Tate were his chief lieutenants in South Carolina.² Elijah Clarke was to be intrusted with Georgia's part, responsible especially for enlisting the Georgians and the Creek and Cherokee Indians.³ A number of elements entered into the situation as far as Clarke and the Georgians were concerned. As before noted, Clarke had a violent hatred of the British. For that reason, if for no other, he would have been

¹ Elijah Clarke left North Carolina in 1774 and settled in Wilkes county, Georgia. He was a major general in the Georgia forces during the revolution, commanding in the battle of Kettle creek and taking an important part in skirmishes in South Carolina leading up to the battle of King's mountain. See A. D. Candler and C. A. Evans, *Cyclopaedia of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1906), 1:396; L. C. Draper, *Kings mountain and its heroes* (Cincinnati, 1881), *passim*; J. C. Harris, *Georgia* (New York, 1896), 88-96.

The following is an example of Clarke's strong-willed nature. On the failure of the grand jury to find a true bill against a trifling fellow whom Clarke had accused of horse-stealing, he seized him, and followed by the jury and judge, marched him to the place of the theft, intent on hanging him. He desisted only after the judge had made an eloquent appeal for law and order. G. R. Gilmer, *Sketches of some of the first settlers of upper Georgia, of the Cherokees, and of the author* (New York, 1855), 185.

² Hammond was not previously unknown to Clarke, both having fought together in the battles of Cedar springs and Musgrove's hill in the revolution. George White, *Historical collections of Georgia containing the most interesting facts, traditions, biographical sketches, anecdotes, etc., relating to its history and antiquities, from its first settlement to the present time* (New York, 1854), 625, 628. F. J. Turner, "The Mangourit correspondence in respect to Genêt's projected attack upon the Floridas, 1793-94," in American historical association, *Annual report*, 1897 (Washington, 1898), 569-574.

³ The fact that two men prominent in this movement bore the name Clark (Elijah Clarke spelled his name with a final e, but this was not always adhered to) has led to considerable confusion in early dispatches as well as in later accounts. For example, in the *American state papers: foreign relations*, volume 1, index, p. v, George Rogers Clark and Elijah Clarke are listed as "General Clarke," and this results in a confusion of the doings of the Kentucky and Mississippi river expedition with the Georgia and Floridas affair.

in favor of aiding the French. Georgians in general were leaning toward Jefferson and French sympathies as opposed to the federalists and British sentiment. This state of mind unconsciously predisposed many to wink at the venture if not to openly aid it. Clarke as well as many other land-hungry Georgians had with deep dissatisfaction seen the federal government make treaties with the Creeks and Cherokees which seemed to exclude white settlers forever from large tracts of land. Why not then follow the French for three months and take advantage of large bounties in land offered in the Floridas and in Louisiana?⁴ Clarke was also very popular in Georgia, and he knew that he could draw a considerable following with him in any venture he should choose. A large gathering of officers in Georgia agreed to enter the French service on hearing that Clarke would be a leader.⁵ There was also the traditional hatred of the Georgians against the Spaniards in Florida, especially intensified by their recent plottings with the Indians.

Clarke entered actively into the service of the French in the fall of 1793, receiving the commission of a major general with an annual salary of \$10,000. He immediately set to work enlisting Georgians for the enterprise. Many veterans of the revolution who had served with him in that war joined him again. Agents were sent out to many points with ample supplies of money to enlist men and buy provisions, some carrying as much as \$10,000 with them.⁶ Different points in Georgia were designated as posts for rendezvous preparatory to proceeding to St. Mary's, the general rendezvous for all troops from both South Carolina and Georgia. The collecting posts in upper Georgia were mostly in the Indian land where the governor of Georgia supposedly

⁴ A committee appointed by the South Carolina house of representatives to investigate the Genêt affair reported: "Many citizens of the United States have been . . . seduced from their duty by insidious arts practiced on their kindred affections to the French republic." *American state papers: foreign relations*, 1:309. See also *Ibid.*, 459.

⁵ Hammond said that at this meeting the officers unanimously expressed the desire to enter the venture immediately "as General Clarke is determined to follow me to aid in the conquest of east Florida." Turner, "Mangourit correspondence," in *American historical association, Annual report*, 1897, p. 636.

⁶ T. S. Arthur and W. H. Carpenter, *The history of Georgia from its earliest settlement to the present time* (Philadelphia, 1854), 291, 292; W. B. Stevens, *History of Georgia* (Philadelphia, 1859), 2:405; A. H. Chappell, *Miscellanies of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1874), 40; *American state papers: foreign relations*, 1:459.

had no control and to which, indeed, the United States could not lay undisputed claim. Troops from the up-country were to assemble on the west side of the Oconee river opposite Greensborough, and troops from the central part of the state were to gather on the same river opposite Kerr's bluff.⁷ The whole length of the Georgia frontier from Tennessee to the Florida line was at this time in a state of great unrest. Private parties were gathering at numerous places bent on invading the Creek country; half-organized commands were camping here and there supposedly to fight the Creeks; and, to make the conditions still more unsettled, the Georgia militia and the federal troops which were scattered in different forts and camps mostly along the Oconee river were actuated by no friendly feelings toward each other. Out of these discordant elements Clarke was enlisting his recruits. And it can scarcely be doubted that he was using hostility to the Creeks as a cloak for his real designs.⁸ At the same time efforts were being made to enlist as many Creeks and Cherokees as possible and to make friends with the remainder. Genêt was enabled to use this as proof against the charge that he was plotting on American territory against Spain, claiming that certain persons had merely agreed "to go among the independent Indian tribes, ancient friends and allies of France," to enlist their aid.⁹

Clarke seems to have made considerable progress in gathering

⁷ Turner, "Mangourit correspondence," in American historical association, *Annual report*, 1897, pp. 635, 636.

⁸ Henry Knox, secretary of war, in a statement to the United States senate, December 16, 1793, said: "The present state of this part of the frontier involves national considerations of great magnitude whether viewed as relative to the expense which has been incurred during the past summer, of which payment will most probably be demanded of the United States, whether with regard to the claims of the Governor of Georgia, of a right of interference in any treaty with the Creeks, which is presumed to be contrary to the constitution of the United States, or whether with regard to a war with the powerful tribes of the Creeks, with the long and almost unlimited train of collateral and consequent evils attendant thereon, a measure which may perhaps be avoided, if means could be devised to keep the bold and turbulent of both sides in order." *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1:362. *Ibid.*, 361-429 *passim*.

⁹ *American state papers: foreign relations*, 1:311. A plan for a treaty of alliance and friendship with the Creeks may be found in Turner, "Mangourit correspondence" in American historical association, *Annual report*, 1897, pp. 591-593. Many Creeks and Cherokees were enlisted, according to Arthur and Carpenter, *History of Georgia*, 291, 292.

men. According to the commander of the federal troops in Georgia, the French "appear to have many friends in this undertaking among the inhabitants of this State." He said three hundred men from upper Georgia were expected to join eighty others encamped on the St. Mary's river, and that these together with a French sloop of war would "be sufficient, they say, to take the Floridas as soon as they please." This service was especially attractive to the United States troops, many of whom agreed to join the French "on the expiration of their engagements with the United States." Some, however, did not wait for this, but, prevailed upon by Clarke's recruiting agents, deserted outright. Clarke became fearful of immediate trouble with the United States if this procedure were kept up. Major Williamson, paymaster of Clarke's troops, wrote assuring a United States army officer, "General Clarke requested me to urge the necessity of not interfering with Government, particularly in that of persuading the troops of the United States to desert and join them; and that, if he could find out that any officer or soldier had acted in that manner, contrary to the interests of the United States, should be given into the hands of the law, and be published as the law directs."¹⁰

This unsettled state of affairs lasted throughout the winter of 1793-1794. The main work of Clarke during this period was to collect as many troops as possible on the Georgia frontier along the Oconee river and march them to the St. Mary's river, and from there make a descent in force on East Florida. After this province should be in his possession, he was to invade and seize West Florida. There was very little, if any, actual fighting. Clarke was busily engaged in recruiting and commanding troops on the Florida border at one time, and in the Oconee river region at another. He was reported to have attacked West Florida in October but to have been frustrated by the United States troops. In the following April he was back on the Oconee river ready to take command of troops gathering there; while in May he was reported to be on the Florida border again with from 150 to 300 men ready to join the French.¹¹

This movement, so disruptive of law and order, could not go

¹⁰ *American state papers: foreign relations*, 1:459, 460.

¹¹ Turner, "Mangourit correspondence," in *American historical association, Annual report*, 1897, p. 669; *American state papers: foreign relations*, 1:459, 460.

on long without being challenged from different quarters. The Spaniards were by no means unmindful of what was taking place. The governor of East Florida warned Governor Mathews of Georgia at different times "of the machinations that were put in motion" from Georgia, and urged in January that he exert his "utmost efforts till the said plot shall be entirely destroyed."¹² But the reputation of the Spaniards in Florida was none too good among the Georgians, so that for months the Georgia governor did nothing despite the fact that troop movements against Florida were well known. He knew how popular Clarke was among the Georgians. He also knew that most people in the state were sympathetic toward the venture as long as it was directed by the French against the Spaniards in Florida. Finally, however, he was constrained to issue a proclamation on March 5, forbidding all persons in the state to join the adventurers or to aid or assist them in any way.¹³ The proclamation, however determined in tone, could accomplish nothing unless followed up by the force of the Georgia militia. This was not forthcoming. The French had little fear of the Georgia governor. According to the French consul at Charleston, "The Governor of Georgia, whose proclamation has appeared in our newspapers is a good republican — but his proclamation cannot influence the independent Indians, nor the others who have joined the French at St. Mary's."¹⁴ Governor Mathews had frequent correspondence with Clarke during the latter part of this venture, the contents of which can never be known, as these letters have gone the route of many other valuable historical documents.¹⁵ It is safe to infer, however, that Clarke was not convinced of any serious opposition from the governor.

But Georgia had less to fear than did the federal government.

¹² *Ibid.*, 426, 459; Arthur and Carpenter, *History of Georgia*, 292.

¹³ *American state papers: foreign relations*, 1:459. A copy of the proclamation may be found in the Minutes of the executive department, November 5, 1793, to September 23, 1796, manuscripts in the state archives in Atlanta, 66, 67.

¹⁴ Turner, "Mangourit correspondence," in American historical association, *Annual report*, 1897, p. 653.

¹⁵ The letter book of Governor Mathews containing this correspondence is described by U. B. Phillips, "Public archives of Georgia," in American historical association, *Annual report*, 1903 (Washington, 1904), 1:451. A diligent search was made for it, but without success. It has undoubtedly been destroyed since 1903, when the report was made.

It undoubtedly suited the Georgians well enough to wink at this expedition, but President Washington saw the complications that must inevitably follow with Spain. The war and state departments had been in frequent communication with Governor Shelby of Kentucky relative to the expedition being fitted out against Louisiana. Conditions in Georgia had also been receiving the attention of the secretary of war. All the federal troops in the state were offered to the governor to assist in putting a stop to the movement, but no call was made for them. In May, Henry Knox, the secretary of war, wrote Governor Mathews impressing upon him the gravity of the situation and informing him that Washington desired him to "take the most energetic and decisive measures within your power for suppressing the said design." In a message to congress on May 20, 1794, Washington declared he had believed that the idea of a Spanish expedition had been abandoned. "But it appears to have been revived, upon principles which set public order at defiance, and place the peace of the United States at the discretion of unauthorized individuals." In the meantime, a few prosecutions had been entered against certain recruiting agents in Savannah. South Carolina was not so remiss in its duty as was Georgia. In December the general assembly of the former state decided to investigate the machinations of Genêt and called for prosecutions against any South Carolinians who had accepted commissions from the French and who were trying to recruit forces.¹⁶

But the whole scheme was soon destined to fall to pieces for reasons apart from all this. Genêt had so conducted himself that in his short stay of a few months as French minister he had come into open conflict in numerous ways with the federal government. His recall was soon demanded, and in November, 1793, he was displaced by a French commission headed by Fauchet. Thus, in the very midst of his preparations for the Florida expedition, Genêt was dismissed. Although this was disconcerting, it did not put an immediate stop to the scheme. Not until the following March did Fauchet issue a proclamation terminating the venture. But this expedition seemed to be easier started than stopped. Some of the most active preparations were made during the two months following Fauchet's

¹⁶ *American state papers: foreign relations*, 1:309, 455, 460.

proclamation. As late as May, Clarke was busy in the Oconee river region recruiting. Governor Mathews' proclamation, mentioned above, was issued only the day before Fauchet disbanded the forces. By the last of May the movement seems to have subsided completely. But as far as Georgia was concerned the aftermath came near being more serious than the original venture.

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After the partisan warfare of the revolution in which Clarke took such an important part was over, his experience as a fighter was not lost to the state. He immediately took up the fight with the Creeks and the Cherokees and played a predominating rôle in the conflict with those tribes for the next decade. The character of this war was such as to give ample play to those qualities of self-reliance and independent initiative that were so prominent in Clarke's nature. He made war and concluded peace with scant direction from the governor of the state. In 1782 he went against the Cherokees, defeated them on the Chickamauga, and made peace with them unauthorized in the treaty of Long Swamp, whereby the Indians were forced to give up wide areas of land. Most of the provisions of this treaty were included in a new treaty regularly made the following year, but not entirely to Clarke's liking. On a number of other occasions Clarke was one of the commissioners appointed by the governor to treat with the Indians. In August of 1793 he was one of the generals called in a council of war by Governor Telfair to confer on an expedition in force against the Creeks. It was decided to march into the Creek country with 5,000 troops in the following October. Washington interposed the authority of the federal government against this campaign, and Clarke thereupon entered on his Florida venture with Genêt. He came out of it with a reputation undimmed and an ambition whetted for bolder schemes.¹⁷

When the Florida movement had about subsided, in May of 1794, Clarke found himself on the Oconee river frontier, with an influence over numerous bodies of men gathered in that region which almost amounted to a complete command over them, and

¹⁷ U. B. Phillips, *Georgia and state rights* (Washington, 1902), 67; Stevens, *History of Georgia*, 2:415, 417; White, *Historical collections of Georgia*, 123; Chappell, *Miscellanies of Georgia*, 47; *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1:370.

with other men directly subject to his orders whom he had expected to lead against the Floridas. Events had now prepared the way for a bold stroke. Nothing seemed more logical or feasible to Clarke than to march his men across the Oconee river into the Indian country and set up an independent government.¹⁸ Aside from the ease with which it seemed to him that this might be done, there were other important controlling reasons. Georgians in general were land-hungry. This movement owed many recruits to the genuine home-seekers, who found that all the land that had been ceded by the Indians had already been taken up. A large share of the constant troubles with the Indians was due to land encroachment or attempts at encroachment by the whites. In the words of a representative of the Indians to a Georgia officer: "You well know, the cause of the discontent with us has ever been, the limits of our country; consider that we have retreated from the plains to the woods, from thence to the mountains; but no limits, established by nature or by compact, have stayed the ambitions, or satisfied your people."¹⁹ The same ideas of government and law and order that characterized frontiersmen generally possessed these people. As a later governor said, "They had slight comprehension of government, and but little use for that which they had, but as the instrument for satisfying their desire for more land."²⁰ Thus, there were numerous ill-defined schemes of individuals and groups of persons to enter onto the Indian country in one way or another.²¹ A United States agent reported to the war department "that settling the lands on the south side of the Oconee is a favorite object with the inhabitants of the upper counties." The Indians also made

¹⁸ Chappell, *Miscellanies of Georgia*, 42; *Narrative and critical history of America*, edited by Justin Winsor (Boston, 1888), 7:447; Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the west* (New York, 1898), 4:151, 173; Arthur and Carpenter, *History of Georgia*, 293, 294. Roosevelt, *Winning of the west*, 4:193, 194, confuses Clarke's French intrigues and his settlement, representing them as taking place at the same time, and Clarke as masquerading at one time as a major general of the French army, with his men as the *sans culottes*, and at another time as the head of an independent government. Stevens, *History of Georgia*, 2:405, is so far wrong as to represent the French venture as a result of the failure of the trans-Oconee settlement.

¹⁹ *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1:371.

²⁰ Gilmer, *Sketches of the first settlers of upper Georgia*, 189.

²¹ Some time before Clarke's attempted settlement (in 1789) the legislature of Georgia made the first Yazoo land sales in the movement that brought the second sales of 1795 with the frauds that accompanied it and the troubles that followed. Clarke could not have been completely oblivious to these happenings.

the accusation to an officer of the Georgia militia "that numbers of people wish to get possession of our lands, and are framing plans for that purpose."²²

Another element that entered into the situation, complicating the land question, and thereby playing into the hands of Clarke, was the dealings of the United States government with the Indians. As a checkmate to the influence of the Spaniards over the Creeks, Alexander McGillivray and other Creek chiefs were invited to New York, where a treaty was made with them in 1790, fixing the Oconee river as the boundary between the whites and the Indians and guaranteeing the lands west of that river to the latter.²³ It was unthinkable to the Georgians that such a treaty could be imposed upon them. It cut off completely the future growth of the state, limiting her territory to a comparatively narrow strip along the coast and the Savannah river. If that treaty were enforced, the state was doomed to lose all her vast western domain, "the richest jewel the State of Georgia possesses, and the real basis of her future wealth and rank in the Union." Under this provocation the land-hungry settlers became intensely hostile toward the Indians and had little more friendly feelings toward the federal government. One of them is reported to have said of the federal agents attempting to make peace with the Indians, "that, instead of pacifying the Indians, they were only encouraging and paying them to destroy our frontier inhabitants; and, as Congress are a set of rascals, and the Secretary of War an enemy to his country, if he had it in his power, he would drown them in the sea; observing, at the same time, that he was confident, the Executive officers of the Federal Government wished that the Indians might destroy the whole State of Georgia." The government of Georgia was by no means pleased with conditions. The governor declared that treaties with the Indians were null and void unless the state were given a part in their making.²⁴

²² *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1:371, 500.

²³ Winsor, *Narrative and critical history*, 7:447; Phillips, *Georgia and state rights*, 41-43.

²⁴ *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1:412, 414, 499. In the federal constitutional convention at Philadelphia, Georgia, although one of the smallest states in population, had voted generally with the large states, on account of her extensive holdings of western lands which she expected to develop.

James Seagroves, a federal agent to the Indians, reported that, "The opposition

Clarke decided to take advantage of these discords that seemed to surround him on all sides. Leading an army of settlers into the Indian country would be very popular with these frontiersmen. The opposition of the people as well as the state government to the treaty of New York barring them from the trans-Oconee river region, further emboldened him to make the attempt. He feared no authority in Georgia, supported as he was by a large personal following and aided by a popular cause. Certainly the governor of the state would not oppose him in breaking a treaty against which he himself had protested so vigorously. Clarke seems to have been to a great extent an opportunist. That he undertook the settlement was due very largely to the peculiar conditions and surroundings he found himself in. Perhaps the thought of setting up an independent government was not entertained when he first began this movement, but gradually grew into this scheme as he saw with what apparent ease it might be done. It has been argued that Clarke was actuated by the highest motives of loyalty to his state, seeing that it could never amount to much without the use of its western lands, and that after building up a separate republic he intended ultimately to annex it to Georgia.²⁵

Clarke's movements at first attracted little attention. It was generally supposed that he was leading a party against the Indians.²⁶ Even when the parties began to settle down without opposing the Indians, Governor Mathews guessed "that the adventurers were part of those who had embarked in the French interest, and that, in a short time, they would of themselves disperse."²⁷ But as the venture soon began to take on all the characteristics of a permanent settlement, the governor was to every measure favorable to peace with the Creek Indians, as well as the pointed disrespect to every person in the immediate service of the General Government, is so conspicuous and general among the inhabitants of this upper country, as, in my humble opinion, to give just reason to fear that the cause proceeds, in a great degree, from a source in this State, which it ought not." *Ibid.*, 409.

²⁵ Chappell, *Miscellanies of Georgia*, 54; L. L. Knight, *Standard history of Georgia and Georgians* (Chicago, 1917), 1:380-383.

²⁶ An officer stationed on the Oconee river at Fort Mathews reported on May 7 that he was informed "that General Clarke is to cross here today, with a number of militia; it is supposed with an intention to take some Indians that are at Montpelier." *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1:482, 484.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 495; White, *Historical collections of Georgia*, 686.

roused to action. He directed General Irwin, an old comrade-in-arms of Clarke's, to order the settlers to move. The order was obeyed, and in a short time the movement seems to have ended; but only to break out again at a new place. In the middle of July the commander of the federal troops in Georgia informed Governor Mathews that Clarke was encamping in the Indian country opposite Fort Fidius. Mathews demanded of Clarke an immediate removal of his settlers. Clarke refused in a very positive manner. A direct issue was here raised which smacked of treason and rebellion against the constituted authorities. Clarke expected widespread support throughout the frontier communities; Mathews did not feel reassured.

But the issue was now joined, and there was no other course for Governor Mathews but to continue. On July 28, he issued a proclamation reciting how Clarke had "induced numbers of the good citizens of the . . . State to join him" and strictly commanding and requiring "all judges, justices, sheriffs, and other officers, and all other good citizens of this State, to be diligent in aiding and assisting in apprehending the said Elijah Clarke and his adherents, in order that they may severally be brought to justice." He also issued an order to a judge of the superior court of Wilkes county to issue a warrant for the arrest of Clarke. But the latter, believing that he had the support of the great majority of the people, forestalled the procedure by voluntarily surrendering to the court. The judge, not greatly emboldened by conditions as he saw them, decided after consultation with the attorney general not to issue the warrant, but instead to turn the case over to a board of four justices of the county. Tainted with the general demoralization that pervaded these regions, they released Clarke from further restraint, declaring that, "it being our duty to do speedy justice to the said State, as well as the party charged, we proceeded to the most mature consideration of the cause, and, after an examination of the laws of the State, and the treaties made, and laws passed, by the United States, do give it as our decided and unanimous opinion, that the said Elijah Clarke be, and is hereby, discharged."²⁸

²⁸ *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1:496, 595; Stevens, *History of Georgia*, 2:402; White, *Historical collections of Georgia*, 686, 687; Arthur and Carpenter, *History of Georgia*, 294.

In Clarke's estimation this was one of the most important tests that should determine the success of the scheme; and he had won a decided victory. Governor Mathews, on the other hand, was led "to conclude, there are too many who think favorably of the settlement; but I still flatter myself a large majority of the citizens are opposed to such lawless acts." Clarke now began to push his settlement with redoubled vigor. He believed the militia would refuse to attack, even if the governor should have the temerity to order them against him. Many people now began to flock to Clarke's banner, who had hitherto held off for fear of the state government. A well organized settlement was soon begun, towns laid out, and a government set up. Fort Advance and Fort Defiance were erected as outposts. A provisional constitution was adopted, and a committee of safety chosen, with law-making powers. Clarke was made civil and military head of the government.²⁹

The attitude of the Indians towards the settlement, since it was building on lands guaranteed to them by treaty, Clarke had to consider. With all his former bitter hostility toward them, still he commanded a certain respect from them and influence over them. There is no evidence of a formal agreement ever being made, but there was certainly a workable understanding subsisting. It was feared by the federal government that an agreement had been actually entered into, and that the governor of the state might be disposed to recognize it. It was urged that this should not deter him from breaking up the scheme, as it would otherwise afford a pernicious example for the future. A federal agent reported to the secretary of war that "It is a singular circumstance . . . that not the least opposition has been shown by the Indians to the settlements which were making on their lands, otherwise than by representations to the Governor, and they have at no time been more quiet than they are at present."³⁰ Answering an inquiry and complaint of the "headmen

²⁹ *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1:495, 500, 501; Knight, *Standard history of Georgia and Georgians*, 381; Arthur and Carpenter, *History of Georgia*, 294; White, *Historical collections of Georgia*, 687.

³⁰ *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1:500, 502. A stringent law had been passed by congress in 1793 against settlers entering into the Indian country. *Ibid.*, 498.

Fauchet, the French minister to the United States succeeding Genêt, wrote his

and warriors of the Creek nation" to the governor, he reassured them that "The fort you complain of over the Oconee, is not built by my orders, nor your father, General Washington; it is done by men acting without any authority. I am informed they intend to rent the land of you; but if you don't choose to let them live on it . . . you need not be uneasy about them; your father, General Washington, will have them put off of it."³¹

As suggested above, the federal government had been viewing Clarke's maneuvers with some concern as to their outcome. During the early period of the settlement, while Governor Mathews was yet calculating the forces behind Clarke and had not yet taken a decided stand against the project, the federal government was becoming suspicious of affairs on the Georgia frontier. In the latter part of July the secretary of war informed Governor Mathews that he understood "a considerable body of people, in the upper part of Georgia, have associated themselves for the purpose of setting up an independent government." He informed the Georgia governor that Washington "requests your Excellency to adopt the following line of conduct, without delay:

"1st. To warn, by proclamation, these disturbers of the peace, that they are offending against the laws of the United States and of Georgia, and that their attempts will be repelled by military force.

"2d. To embody such parts of your militia as may be necessary to accomplish the business with decision.

"3d. To call upon the commanding officer of the Federal troops in Georgia, who is instructed to obey your Excellency's orders, to co-operate in the removal of these settlers from the Indian lands."

government on December 27, 1794, that "In Georgia the Creek Indians came very near taking up arms on account of the invasion of a few hundred adventurers who had enlisted for service in our expedition against the Floridas, and who since the abandonment of this project have thought of expatriating themselves and under the leadership of Major Clarke of taking possession of a portion of territory which belongs to the savages." "Correspondence of the French ministers to the United States, 1791-1797," edited by F. J. Turner, in *American historical association, Annual report*, 1903, volume 2, p. 524.

³¹ *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1:497. The protest of this body of Indians does not preclude the possibility of a tacit understanding with another faction. See also *Ibid.*, 499.

On the very day on which this communication was written Governor Mathews had issued his proclamation, before mentioned, calling on Clarke to desist from his venture. Subsequent happenings, and especially the decision of the Wilkes county justices discharging Clarke and virtually declaring the treaty of New York null and void, were not very reassuring to President Washington. Two months later, Alexander Hamilton, in the absence of the secretary of war, wrote Governor Mathews that the governor of South Carolina had been requested to send the state militia to aid in putting down the undertaking, if the Georgia governor deemed it necessary. He also declared it "impossible to conceive a settlement more unjustifiable in its pretexts, or more dangerous in its principle. . . . It is not only a high handed usurpation of the rights of the General and State Governments, and a most unwarrantable encroachment upon those of the Indians; but, proceeding upon the idea of a separate and independent government, to be erected upon a *military* basis, it is essentially hostile to our republican systems of government, and is pregnant with incalculable mischiefs. It deeply concerns the great interests of the country that such an establishment should not be permitted to take root, and that the example should be checked by adequate punishment."³²

There could be no doubt now as to the serious nature of the enterprise. Judge Walton in referring to the venture in his charge to the grand jury of Richmond county declared that "the moment is eventful . . . the eyes of the Union are necessarily turned toward this State." He believed that "A young country, scarcely recovered from former ravages, but with the means of progressive amplification and aggrandizement, to be involved in civil war, with all the evils incident to it, will have the effect of arresting its progress, and putting it in the back of any present calculaton." But even a man of the stern patriotism of Judge Walton could not refer to Clarke in his present rôle without an appreciation of his past services: "With the gentleman who directs this enterprise, I have been a long time in the habits of regard and friendship; I have known his virtues, and esteemed them. In the long and arduous war, which produced our liberty and independence, he stands high in the lists of Revo-

³² *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1:501, 502.

lutionary patriots and soldiers. But he himself will forgive and justify me, in detailing the laws against a scheme which tends to undermine the fair fabric he contributed to raise, and to subvert the order of that society, of which he has been so long an useful member."³³

But in the meantime, Governor Mathews had assumed a sterner attitude, upon Clarke's entry on his project with renewed vigor and determination following his acquittal by the Wilkes county justices. In the latter part of August, he informed the secretary of war that "however unpleasant the task may be, of shedding the blood of acquaintances, and those whom we wish to view as fellow-citizens, yet the President may rest assured that no exertions on my part shall be wanting." As a last resort before beginning actual warfare, Governor Mathews sent General Twiggs, one of Clarke's old associates in many battles in the revolution as well as against the Indians, to beg him to desist. "Should the order not be obeyed, I shall lose no time in drawing together a force adequate to compelling them." This he promised the secretary of war, at the same time asking what should be done with any prisoners that might be taken. Probably he was fearful of the results, if Georgia should attempt to prosecute them. He was advised to turn them over to the federal court. A plan of campaign was now drawn up to be carried out by Generals Twiggs and Irwin. The main purpose was to establish a blockade up and down the Oconee river to prevent provisions from being brought to Clarke and also to keep recruits from reaching him. For the time being no offensive measures were to be undertaken. In fact no actual fighting was contemplated, as it was supposed that the blockade would bring about success. The command was admonished by Governor Mathews to conduct itself "with the greatest circumspection, and, in no instance, commit an act of hostility, unless in self-preservation."³⁴

Clarke assumed a defiant attitude, and began to make active preparations to resist any attempt of troops to break up his settlement. He cheered his committee of safety with the assurance that "the troops declare they will not fight against us."

³³ *Ibid.*, 498, 499.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:495, 496, 497, 503.

He also boldly declared, "I am determinately fixed to risk every thing, with my life, upon the issue, and for the success of the enterprise." In his estimation, a majority of the people of the state were with him in sentiment, and he was not afraid of being interfered with if the decision were left to the courts. He therefore specifically ordered his men to refuse to surrender to the troops; but "you will cheerfully submit to be tried by a jury of your fellow-citizens." He even would be so bold as to try to use the processes of the courts to break the blockade against him. He declared the troops "have no right to take hold of any private property whatever, and, for everything detained, to the value of one shilling, belonging to any adventurer, they shall suffer the penalty of the law. If such case should turn up, apply to a magistrate, and bind the party offending to the next superior court." He furthermore stated that the orders of the secretary of war were "unconstitutional" and the governor's proclamation "illegal," as had been determined by the Wilkes county justices.³⁵ These were strange ideas and procedures for the head of an independent government to assume and undertake. It only goes to show how vague Clarke's understanding was of the consequences entailed by the new order he was attempting to set up.

But despite Clarke's bold front, the Georgia troops were scattered all along the Oconee and proceeded to enforce the blockade. This determined action by the state was not expected by many of the Clarke followers. They had been relying on what they considered to be public sentiment to prevent any opposition from the state; but now they found many people siding against them. Large numbers of people who wanted land were not willing to go to the limits of defying their government to get it. When the issue became clear-cut, the majority opinion even on the frontier went against Clarke. Many soon came to believe with Judge Walton that they had no interest in supporting "the pretensions of a small part of the people — pretensions without law, and resting not on the foundations of justice." In the latter part of September the Georgia troops were ordered to cross the river and proceed immediately against the settlements. When this movement began Clarke's men almost completely deserted

³⁵ *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 501.

him, so that on the twenty-eighth, when Fort Advance was taken, only twenty men remained with him. Before surrendering, Clarke and his men were promised protection in their persons and property. In the words of Governor Mathews, General Irwin "soon compelled the adventurers to propose relinquishing their unlawful attempts, and submit to the laws of their country. The posts are all burnt and destroyed, and the whole business happily terminated without the loss of blood."³⁶

Although this summary action put a stop to this venture, and to any other such schemes by Clarke, it was a fruitful source of bitter partisan strife to follow. Clarke's influence was still so great that he not only escaped all punishment, although attempts were made to bring him to justice, but succeeded in creating a considerable reaction of sentiment against Governor Mathews. In his message to the general assembly on November 3, 1794, the governor made this reference to the affair: "The daring unauthorized attempt of Elijah Clarke late a Major General of this State to form a settlement on the South West side of the Oconee is such a violation of Law & and every principle of good order, that I doubt not of receiving your support & concurrence in pursuing Such Measures against the leading characters concerned, as will deter others from engaging in Acts which have in their operation, a tendency toward involving our fellow Citizens in the horrors of a civil war." He said the state was under much obligation to General Irwin for "reducing those refractory people without the loss of blood." He also defended his proclamation against Clarke, which "by some has been condemned as oppressive and illegal."³⁷

Although Clarke's land schemes were never renewed, he was accused three years later by the Spanish minister to the United States of another plot against Florida. In a letter to the secretary of state the ambassador said, "I know to a certainty that the English have made propositions to General Clarke of Georgia, in order to avail themselves of his influence in that State,

³⁶ *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1:499, 500; White, *Historical collections of Georgia*, 687; Arthur and Carpenter, *History of Georgia*, 295. The number of men associated with Clarke at any time was probably not greater than three or four hundred.

³⁷ Minutes of the executive department, November 5, 1793, to September 23, 1796, p. 169.

together with some other persons, for making a diversion or serious attack against Florida." Inquiry was made of the federal district attorney for Georgia about this matter. In his reply he said, "I have made diligent inquiry, and cannot find any person here that knows any thing of the business, or that entertains a belief of the kind. Clarke was concerned in a former expedition against the Floridas, in conjunction with the French, and it is possible, from the circumstances, that he is again suspected. He is a man of strong passions, of warm partialities for the French, and violent antipathies to the English. From these circumstances, and from the matter being unknown to the citizens here, I am led to doubt the truth of the report altogether." Secretary Pickering's later inquiries of the British envoy failed to clarify completely British machinations regarding Florida. The latter admitted that "some persons did actually propose to me a plan for an attack on the Floridas," but none "expressed sentiments that were in any degree hostile to the interests of the United States."³⁸ Clarke's past reputation for such ventures was perhaps more responsible for this accusation than any serious conversations he had ever had with the British.

Although these various machinations of Clarke's never succeeded in getting very far, they might have caused much mischief to state and nation had the sufferance of the authorities allowed them to proceed further. Clarke himself was a rather remarkable man, a typical product of his time and surroundings. His ventures were not the deep-laid plots of a dangerous man. He rather happened upon them, and their ultimate purposes grew as they proceeded. He was an uneducated frontiersman, and a partisan fighter at all times, whether he opposed the British or the Indians, or engaged in the political animosities of the day. His services to his state were important and lasting; his mistakes were soon forgotten. Twenty-five years after his death, he was characterized as "not only a patriot of the Revolution, but as honest, daring, and intrepid a spirit as ever breathed."³⁹ In 1799, the commander-in-chief of the Georgia

³⁸ *American state papers: foreign relations*, 2:68, 71. The French consul general at Philadelphia believed that Clarke had been offered something by the British to invade Florida. "Correspondence of the French ministers," (Turner, ed.), in *American historical association, Annual report*, 1903, 2:1037.

³⁹ *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 2:792. There is absolutely no taint

militia announced in a general order "that the gallant old veteran, the late major general Clarke, of Georgia, whose name ought to be so dear to this and the United States, for his truly heroic exploits is dead." It was, therefore, ordered that all officers for one month "do wear . . . a crepe around the left arm, as a token of that affection which the government and military bear to his memory, for his great patriotic, and military exertions, during the revolutionary war."⁴⁰ The *Augusta Herald* in announcing his death, referred to him as a "late Major General of this state, whose meritorious achievements during the late revolution are so well known, we deem it unnecessary to particularize."⁴¹ So, whatever may have been his indiscretions, he always retained a large number of admirers, and by the time of his death had generally regained the esteem of his state.

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on the name of Elijah Clarke among Georgians today. One of the counties of the state (laid off and named in 1801) bears his name, and a monument has been erected to his memory in the city of Athens.

⁴⁰ *Georgia Gazette*, January 2, 1800.

⁴¹ December 25, 1799.

THE UNDERTOW OF PURITAN INFLUENCE

While not all puritans were pilgrims, practically all the pilgrims were puritans. The smaller group may have contributed something to American institutions which deserves to be set apart from the contribution of the larger group as a whole. Yet the matters with which this discussion will deal appertain to all the members of the larger group, the pilgrims included.

The positive current of puritan influence in American history has been frequently pointed out and ably traced by writers. There is, however, another current moving contemporaneously with the main current, but in exactly the opposite direction, which is just as much a result of puritan influence. One historian has said that puritanism was an attitude of mind toward religion, government, and society. The puritan was an idealist, professing a desire to carry out his ideals in religion, politics, and social life. In all of these activities he believed that truth was absolute, fixed, and ascertainable. In religion, truth had been revealed so that he could ascertain it and was constantly ascertaining it for himself. In church polity he therefore believed in a kind of democracy for those who had ascertained the truth. In political affairs, likewise, it did not to the puritan seem proper that these elect should be overshadowed or hampered in their self-realization by an hereditary aristocracy. It was only reasonable that these favored individuals should determine for themselves their secular affairs in democratic fashion on week days as they did their religious affairs in congregational meeting on Sundays. The debt of democracy to puritanism, the relation of town-meeting to congregational meeting the connection of the opposition to episcopacy and that to monarchy has been often pointed out and emphasized. Perhaps so much emphasized that one may sometimes forget that some democracies have developed in such non-puritan regions as the Catholic cantons of Switzerland,—that one may forget that in some of the American colonies where puritan influence was least felt, democratic tendencies were pronounced,—that one may forget

to give full credit to the leveling influence of the frontier, not only upon the pioneers, but upon the people of the older-settled regions. Finally, the puritan extended his idealism to social life. Here again, he had his standards, his ascertained immutable truths, that were right and good in themselves and that must be observed to the letter. If others differed from him on questions, neither the puritan nor the puritan's successor has been willing to sacrifice the ideally perfect for something better than the worst. He has frequently thrown away his vote in an election on a cause that he knew could not win, even when he knew that his action would defeat approximation to his ideal and bring about the opposite of what he desired. He had his conscience and he could not compromise with evil.

All this has been many times pointed out. This is a part of the positive current of puritan influence. Contemporaneous with this and flowing in exactly the opposite direction is the undertow, possibly less strong, but due just as much to the puritan. It would be difficult to fix the proportion of the credit due the puritan for the idealism of the American people, but he deserves about the same proportion of credit for the materialism for which the Americans have likewise been so much distinguished. The causes for this seeming paradox are at least three in number. The first has to do with the limitations of human nature. The puritan's ideals were sometimes wrong and many times humanly impossible of attainment. This latter difficulty did not, however, cause the puritan to abandon his ideals or even to admit to himself that he had fallen short of achieving them. His theologically trained mind could work out a means of harmonizing them to his own satisfaction when straight thinking would have revealed the fact that ideals and acts were miles and miles apart. The reconciliation of ideals and acts was largely a linguistic performance. His acts were explained in words and phrases that would square with formulae that expressed his ideals. When this was achieved, the puritan's mind and conscience were at ease. This curious state of mind is still so common among Americans of the north and the northeast that foreigners, especially Latins from South America and Europe, seldom fail to give expression to their disappointment and disillusionment when they visit this country. "Things in America," they say, "are not what they seem or what they profess to be.

There is so much fiction and subtle interpretation. In the application of written constitutions, of laws, and of legal decisions, the divergence of theory from practice in America is exceeded perhaps only by that in England. So much is said in behalf of democracy. Everybody is for it. No one has anything to say against it. And yet the Americans have less real democracy than some people who have less to say about it and who have among them outspoken champions of limitations on democracy. There is so much moral lecturing. Everybody does it. Everybody believes in the gospel of service, and yet nearly everybody enters into the scramble for self-advancement. All the little business men deery big business, but are all the time trying to get into it as fast as they can. Not that Americans are any more materialistic than other people, not that practice falls any further behind ideal, but that the individual American so seldom seems to admit to himself his own shortcomings!" Something like this is the observation of the frank foreign critic. When the Frenchman is immoral, he is usually frankly so,—frequently boastfully or penitently so. When the German steals, he admits the fact and justifies it on the ground that it is all right if he is strong enough to get away with it. When the modern German has had difficulty in making practice conform to ideal he has usually pulled the ideal down to conform with practice. The traditional Jew tried to make practice conform to ideal, even when he realized that the latter was as high above the former as the heavens are above the earth. Too great a proportion of Americans harmonize their high idealism with their crass materialism by psychological processes that have no basis in fact outside their own minds. This habit of mind, this satisfying art of self-delusion, is no doubt in part a heritage from puritanism. In part it is merely the manifestation of the Anglo-Saxon's sense of humour that has saved him from becoming fanatical in trying to realize an ideal which common sense taught him could not be realized.

The second cause is psychological. Whenever an exponent or an advocate of a proposition presents a partial truth as the whole truth, whenever he presents a relative truth as an absolute truth, and whenever he presents these with that dogmatic insistence that endeavors to smother individual freedom of

thought, he secures two different kinds of results. The weak of will and the credulous accept their thoughts ready-made. The tough-willed and temperamentally sceptical begin to explore every secret recess of their minds for facts and evidences with which to fortify themselves in self-defense against this assault. The result is that when the bombardment is over, your tough-willed individual ever after remembers, not the truths or half-truths that were hurled at him, but the bits of evidence that he gathered together out of his own consciousness and experience and built up into a bulwark of defense. So it has happened that men and universities championing the cause of rationalism to the exclusion of other phases of truth have driven men into life-long acceptance of so-called philosophies and religions of authority. Some distinguished leaders of the Catholic church, including cardinals and university professors, have been converted to that faith by this reaction from rationalistic teaching. In like manner, schools erected for the teaching of dogmatic orthodoxy have done their part in producing the toughest of rationalists. So it happened that the old college founded in this country for the purpose of realizing a part of the puritan ideal, before the school was a century old, was producing so many rationalists and materialists along with those that it was hardening in orthodoxy, that a new puritan college had to be established to make good the shortcoming of the older school that had apparently fallen from grace. But in spite of all that could be done the process continued and is continuing. Of course, the fact should not be ignored or forgotten that there were other factors, besides puritanism, that helped to develop this characteristic in Americans. But the rationalists and materialists that have arrived by the puritan route have usually been of the case-hardened variety.

The third cause is theological and is really a corollary of the first. As has been said, the puritan was an idealist. He thought much about the world to come and professed to care little about the present one. He thought much about God in His awful majesty and about himself as the humblest worm of the earth. He was a Calvinist, believing in predestination in its baldest form. His own salvation rested with his maker. He himself was helpless. Yet this apparent black pessimism never resulted in that

inactivity of despair that one would naturally expect. In fact he became most active in materialistic pursuits. This paradox in the case of the puritan came about by a process somewhat as follows. He began by contemplating the wonder of election,—the rare distinction and honor that God conferred upon an individual when he deigned to elect the individual for salvation. This individual elected from the beginning of time to reside with God throughout all eternity became a creature exalted in the mind of the puritan to a degree to which an individual who conceived himself to be saved through his own choice could never aspire. As the puritan contemplated this elected individual in the abstract, thus honored by the Creator, he concluded that an individual thus favored would be surely shown outward evidences of the divine favor. The Creator would surely honor the vessel of clay that contained the elected soul. God would surely be pleased to see His elect prosper in this world's goods. In short, it would become incumbent upon the elect to prosper in order to glorify God by proving God's power. Of course the individual puritan could not be certain that he himself was of the elect, and that hence it became his duty to prosper, but there was always the possibility that this might be his portion. He had hope that he was of the elect, and if so,—it was his duty to prosper. How often as the puritan struggled to make good in a material way, may not the zest for the struggle have been stimulated because material success came subconsciously to mean to him an evidence of his election! He struggled to get this evidence of divine favor. No doubt at times with some there was even the vague feeling that they were actually working out their eternal salvation by making good in a material way. And so the puritan in many cases had turned all the way around and met himself coming back. This other-world-minded idealist became practically absorbed in the most material things of this earth. Woe to the man who tried to drive a bargain with this puritan trader! The Frenchman and even the Dutchman who tried to deal with him pronounced him utterly unscrupulous and hypocritical. The Yankee trader was known the world round for his shrewdness. Woe to the "wicked" navigation laws that stood in the way of this puritan bent upon proving to himself that he was God's elect! He could evade the law and be what a simple minded man

would call a smuggler or a law-breaker. He could trade with the enemy of his nation throughout a war and do it all without admitting to himself that he had forsaken his idealism. And he had not. He still clung both to his ideal and to his practice, however inconsistent and contradictory, and he did it all without admitting to himself that there was any inconsistency.

There is no desire to leave the impression that puritanism accounts for all the materialism in America, or even the greater part of it. Enthusiasts have frequently made the mistake of assuming, for instance, that a large part of the immigrants of the nineteenth century came to America as to a land of refuge, seeking liberty. As a matter of fact, the greater number of immigrants did not care about American institutions and ideals, but came because they felt it was an easy place to make a living. But if the puritan has deserved a larger share of credit for American idealism than have some other elements of the American population, he deserves about the same proportion of credit for contributing the opposite of idealism.

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THE MORAVIAN MISSION IN INDIANA

On the fifteenth day of October, 1800, John Peter Kluge, with his newly wedded wife and Abraham Luckenbach, set forth from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the chief seat in the United States of the United brethren, commonly known as the Moravians, for the purpose of establishing a mission among the Delaware Indians on White river in Indiana territory. On the twelfth day of November, 1806, the same party, enlarged by the addition of three little Kluges, after a weary journey of eight hundred miles or more, again reached Bethlehem, their mission abandoned and the labors of five years apparently fruitless. Between these dates there lies a record of dangers faced and hardships undergone, of devotion to duty and of self-sacrifice, that merits permanent remembrance.

A few words are needed by way of introduction to show why the Moravians undertook to establish this mission in the distant wilderness.

John Heckewelder, the well-known historian of the Moravian missions to the Indians of North America, thus begins his narrative, first published one hundred years ago:

The ancient Episcopal Church, called *Unitas-Fratrium*, after their restoration about the year 1720, in gratitude to our Lord Jesus Christ, for the blessings conferred on them, believed it to be their duty to use their best endeavors to propagate the Gospel among the Heathen.

Hardly had the early Moravian settlers migrated from Georgia to Pennsylvania in 1740 when missionaries were sent to the Indians of New York and Connecticut. Within a few years it became necessary to abandon the missions thus founded. Thenceforth the efforts of the brethren were directed mainly towards the conversion of the Indians residing in the vicinity of Bethlehem. These Indians were Delawares, and as they were gradually pushed farther west by the pressure of the white population the zealous missionaries followed them, until finally the banks of the Muskingum river in Ohio were reached in 1772. Here the villages of Schoenbrun, Gnadenhütten and Salem were founded

and flourished; and, says Heckewelder, "the prospect bid fair towards the conversion of the Delaware nation." But the revolutionary war broke forth, and the missionaries, with their charges, were in an impossible situation, living as they did midway between the contending forces. They were viewed with distrust and suspicion both by the Americans about Fort Pitt and by the British at Detroit and their Indian allies. Finally the evacuation of the mission villages was compelled in the fall of 1781 by Indians acting in the British interest. The missionaries and the so-called Moravian Indians were forced to spend the winter, poorly sheltered and insufficiently supplied with food, in the neighborhood of Upper Sandusky. A large party of the Indians returning the following spring to their former villages to gather corn from their abandoned fields was captured by American borderers, and ninety of them, men, women, and children were barbarously put to death in cold blood at Gnadenhütten. This massacre was the culminating stroke. Only a few faithful converts continued to follow their Moravian guides. The others rejoined their kinsmen and relapsed into savagery.

Near the close of the eighteenth century the Delawares, who for several years had been widely scattered, undertook to reunite their various bands on White river in eastern Indiana. Meanwhile David Zeisberger, the most famous of the missionaries, had led back from Canada a small group of the faithful, and in 1798, on lands along the Muskingum granted by congress, had founded Goshen. Naturally there was an interchange of visits between the Indians of White river and their kindred on the Muskingum, which culminated in what the Goshen missionaries understood to be a formal invitation from the great council of the Delawares for the missionaries and their converts to move to White river.

This invitation was carefully considered, and the determination was reached that it warranted the sending of missionaries and some of the Christian Indians to the White river. High hope was entertained that in this way the Moravians would regain their former influence and standing with the Delawares, and that the Delaware nation might be led to accept Christianity and to adopt the ways of civilized life.

The missionaries selected through the church authorities at Bethlehem to go to the White river were John Peter Kluge, a

German by birth, who had served as missionary almost ten years among the Indians in Dutch Guiana, and Abraham Luckenbach, born in Pennsylvania, a cabinet-maker by trade but since 1797 a teacher at the well-known boys' school of the Moravians at Nazareth. Brother Kluge was thirty-two years old and Brother Luckenbach about nine years younger. David Zeisberger had recommended that the missionaries should be two married couples, or one married couple and a single brother. The difficulty arising out of the fact that both of the brothers chosen were single men was removed by the selection of Anna Maria Rank, of Lititz, as wife for Brother Kluge. The choice was made through the use of the lot, which at that time was frequently resorted to in the Moravian church for the settlement of important questions. The marriage took place early in October.

The journey which began on October fifteenth carried the missionaries to Goshen, a distance of approximately 400 miles. The journey occupied about thirty days, and was filled with what we may suppose were the common incidents of overland travel in those days. The occurrences of each day are related in a diary which was kept in accordance with the church requirement. It is to the diaries so kept and the correspondence supplementing them that we are indebted for almost all our knowledge of the happenings on White river from 1801 to 1806. These documents are carefully preserved in the archives of the church at Bethlehem. They are written in German, but have been translated at the instance of the Indiana historical society, which expects soon to publish them.

At Goshen the missionaries spent the winter trying to acquaint themselves with the Delaware language and customs and preparing for the final stage of their journey. On February 22, 1801, they forwarded an address to his excellency, William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indiana territory, in which they set forth the objects of the mission and expressed their apprehension over the effects of the sale by white traders of spirituous liquors to the Indians. How well-grounded these fears were, the sequel will tell.

On March 24, 1801 the party was ready to proceed. From Goshen the long journey was by boat down the Muskingum to the Ohio, down the Ohio to the mouth of the Big Miami, up the Big Miami and the Whitewater to its forks, where Brookville

now is, and thence overland to White river, a distance of 430 miles, according to the Goshen diary. The party included fifteen Indians — men, women, and children. Their boats consisted of five canoes, that one intended for the missionaries being thirty-six feet long.

No unexpected difficulties appear to have been encountered so long as the party was floating with the current. At Cincinnati they called on General St. Clair, the governor of the Northwest territory, who greeted them kindly, gave them supplies, and furnished them with a letter of recommendation to the chiefs of the White river Indians.

Their progress against the current of the Big Miami and the Whitewater was difficult and exhausting. Some of the canoes were sold, and help was procured for the management of the others. An important transaction was the purchase of two cows and a calf. The diary says: "This was not only of much benefit to us and the Indians on our journey, but when we reached our destination we saw that without the cow we would have been in great distress because milk, butter and bread was all our food this summer, so that we thanked God that we had this cow."

On April 24, one month after the departure from Goshen, the forks of the Whitewater were reached. Here the overland journey of somewhat less than 100 miles began. The difficulties which beset the way may be judged from the fact that a full month was spent in covering the distance. Drunkenness of the Indians caused almost constant trouble from then to the close of the mission. The diary, referring to an occasion when several Indians had secured whiskey, says: "They screamed all night in the woods and acted like madmen. No one who has not seen an Indian drunk can possibly have any conception of the same. It is as if they had been changed into devils or evil spirits. . . . We were not a little astonished to see these Indians who, when sober, look like innocent lambs and were at all times friendly to us, were now like wild animals."

On May 25 the place selected by the Delaware chiefs as the site of the mission was reached. The missionaries desired a site fifteen or twenty miles distant from the Indian villages in order that their charges might not be exposed to the influence and example of the unconverted savages, and they understood that such a site had been selected for them. They found, however,

that the spot chosen, although some fifteen miles or more from Woapikamekunk, the principal town of the Delawares, was only two or three miles from Woapiminskink, the town of Kikthawenund, or Chief Anderson, and that other villages were between there and Woapikamekunk. That town lay a short distance above the present city of Muncie; and its name, says Mr. Dunn, means "the White river town." Woapiminskink means the place of the chestnut tree, so named because the chestnut, an unusual tree in Indiana, grew freely there. The present city of Anderson occupies the site of the Indian town.

Some regard had, however, been paid to the wishes of the missionaries, for the chosen site lay a mile or two off the main path between the Indian towns in the pocket of a bend made by the river. The mission was on a hill or bluff facing south, and on the north side of White river. The location is marked by a bronze tablet placed in 1913 by the Kikthawenund chapter of the Daughters of the American revolution.

The missionaries had been greatly disappointed that they had not been met by the Indians with horses and helpers at the forks of the Whitewater. The total lack of welcome with which they had been received must have been a sore trial to them. However, now that they were preparing to build their village, visitors were frequent, and expressed themselves as pleased by the presence of the missionaries. Their expressions were confirmed by the two principal chiefs of the Delawares, Tedpachsit and Pakantshiles, as their names are written in the diary, who called unexpectedly late in June. Tedpachsit was the civil chief and Pakantshiles the war chief. The name of the latter is frequently given by the early writers as Buckongehelas. He had been a distinguished warrior for many years, and was held in high esteem by both Indians and whites. We learn from the missionaries that Woapikamekunk was his town. The diary pictures the appearance of these chiefs, each wearing a broad blue belt and a silver ring collar, and carrying a turkey wing to keep off the flies. Buckongehelas' ear-lobes were split and ornamented with rings, and hung down so far that he could hold them in his mouth as he gave attention to the missionaries.

During their first summer the missionaries were hard pressed to build huts and cultivate the ground. They had little help from the Indians. "We white brethren are experiencing," they

say, "what it means to start a new settlement, without the necessary assistance. When we have worked hard all day and are tired and sweated we have just time enough to put on dry clothes and keep the service. Thus it is every day, yet we do what we can, if we may only further the cause of the Saviour."

On July 21, less than two months after their arrival, and while they still occupied only a temporary hut, described as "so wretched that when it rains everything floats in it," a son was born to brother and sister Kluge. He was on the following day baptized Charles Frederick. Two other children were born to the Kluges while on White river. It is an interesting fact that John Henry, the youngest of the three, became a teacher, and died at Hope, Indiana, in 1898, after teaching there many years.

The daily life at the mission for the next five years must be passed over. Suffice it to say that hard work, with little assistance and less encouragement, was the constant lot of the missionaries. Fevers prostrated members of the little settlement for days at a time. Food was often scarce. Yet in spite of all, the missionaries appear to have labored with unceasing zeal. Their diaries are filled with personal items of human interest. Services were held under the oak trees. Brother Luckenbach's violin furnished music for their little choir. The entry in the diary for December 24, 1801, describes touchingly the Christmas eve celebration at the little mission:

Everybody got ready for the Christmas celebration and in the evening at 7 o'clock we had our love feast. Counting the members of the congregation and the visitors present, there were 56 persons in attendance. Not having a church we met in Indian Br. Joshua's house which was full to overflowing. At the love feast Br. Kluge read the story of the Saviour's birth, which Indian Br. Joshua translated into Indian. All present were attentive listeners. There was a feeling of joy throughout the whole service which was increased when the little wax-tapers were distributed among the children. Not having a sufficient quantity of wax we could make but twenty tapers. These were all distributed, the heathen children receiving them too. The children were greatly delighted over the little lights. After the service the children, with lighted tapers in their hands, led the way home thru the darkness. It was a pretty sight. The beautiful weather increased greatly the happiness of the evening. There was no snow and it was as warm as in spring. Thus ended this day so happy for us and the Indian brethren and sisters.

The unconverted Indians came to the mission to gaze and listen but not to accept. During the entire life of the mission not one representative Delaware became a convert. Those who there sought comfort and help were the waifs of the Delawares—those who might almost literally be described as the lame, the halt, and the blind.

Backsliding on the part of Indians who had accompanied them from Goshen caused the missionaries great distress and discouragement. Drunkenness was a serious obstacle to their work. Says Brother Kluge in a letter:

At present there are few Indians at home, for they go four or five day's journey into the woods for hunting, and when they return home in Spring, there are few days on which they are not drunk. Even the Chiefs have whiskey brought into the towns, because this traffic is to them, above all others, the most remunerative, for the Indian gives up everything, yea, his last shirt, for whiskey. Unfortunately this whiskey-drinking here is the principal hindrance to the conversion of the heathen, because they are hardly ever in full consciousness while they are at home.

The most painful to us is the fact that our Indian brethren, who came here with us from Goshen, do not deny themselves strong drink. Not only is their intercourse with the heathen hurtful to their own souls, but their sinfulness is a stumbling block to the unbaptized, because these say that Christians are no better than they. Altho we use every precaution and do our best to guard against this evil, we seem to accomplish little. Those who crave strong drink use every pretext to sneak into the heathen villages. It seems as if it was almost impossible for them to shun association with the heathen. Whenever they have been away, there is usually something sorrowful in store for us. We cannot do anything further in the matter than to pray without ceasing and to admonish them in love, all of which we surely do with much earnestness and great patience.

Gradually the atmosphere along White river became hostile to the mission. Drunken Indians, painted and armed, frequently came and threatened the occupants. The missionaries were told that they had never been invited to come to the White river; that the invitation had been intended for the Goshen Indians only, and not for the missionaries. They were also told that the Indians did not propose to become Christians because it was the plan of the missionaries to tame them and then allow them to be slaughtered as the Christian Indians had been at Gnadenhütten. They

were further told that the Delawares had a religion of their own which satisfied them, and that the Christian religion was only for the white people.

To add to the difficulties, in 1805 Buckongehelas, who exercised a powerful steadying influence over his people, died. Not long afterwards the Shawnee, Lawlewasikaw, the brother of Tecumseh, then living among the Delawares, assumed the role of prophet, adopted the name Temskwatawa, or the "Open Door," and began the career which did not end until the battle of Tippecanoe. He claimed to have learned from the Great Spirit how the Delawares should proceed to regain their lands and their former power. He preached a return to their ancient ways, the elimination of drunkenness, and the destruction of witches, and aroused the Indians to a high pitch of excitement. The result to the mission can best be told by quoting a letter from Brother Kluge to Bishop Loskiel at Bethlehem dated April 1, 1806:

Dear Brother,

Since my last to you, by way of Goshen, our situation here has become more precarious than ever; and indeed we have been in such perplexity and distress, that we have never before experienced anything like it. Even now, while I am writing, I am filled with such grief and terror, in the remembrance of the scenes we have been witnesses to, that I hardly know how to put my thoughts together, or find words to describe our present feelings.

From the following narrative our dear Brethren will be able, in some measure, to judge of them.

In February last all the Indians in this district were summoned by their teachers, or lying prophets, to assemble on the Woapikamekunk, to hear the foolish stories, fabricated by these emissaries of Satan, of pretended visions and revelations received from God, and to be instructed how to act in conformity to them. Among these teachers was a Shawnee, an arch-impostor. He was considered as the principal among them, as he gave out, that he was able to know and discover hidden mysteries. The Delaware tribe received him with great cordiality, and resolved to hold a grand council, or court of justice, in order to root out all witchcraft and poison mixing (which, according to their superstitious notions, existed among them), and by fire to extort confession from all such as the Shawnee should accuse, and whoever would not confess, should be hewn in pieces with their war-hatchets, and burnt. With a view to execute their horrid purpose, the young Indians got together, chose the most

ferocious to be their leaders, deposed all the old chiefs, and guarded the whole Indian assembly, as if they were prisoners of war, especially the aged of both sexes. The venerable old chief Tettepachsit was the first whom they accused of possessing poison, and of having destroyed many Indians by his art. When the poor old man would not confess, they fastened him with cords to two posts, and began to roast him at a slow fire. During the torture, he said, that he kept poison in the house of our Indian brother Joshua. Nothing was more welcome to the Indians than this accusation, for they wished to deprive us of the assistance of this man, who was the only christian residing with us. They had frequently sent him invitations to attend their heathenish festivities, but he would never accept of them. His answer was: "You know that I am a believer in the true God, whose word we make known to you; I therefore can have no fellowship with you in your wicked works. Do you as you please, but leave me to serve the living God." This answer displeased them much, and on March 13th, they sent seven wild Indians, with painted faces, to our settlement, and took Joshua away by main force. They pretended, that he only need tell Tettepachsit to his face, that he had no poison in his house, and might then return home. All excuses were vain, and Joshua was compelled to accompany them to the assembly at Woapikamikunk. We were now left alone; for Hannah, baptized Indian woman, had sometime ago been prevailed on, by fear and superstition, to go to the Indian assembly.

We cannot describe what we felt on this occasion, especially as we could not guess what might be their design against Joshua. In this dilemma, we prayed fervently to the Lord, that He would have mercy upon us and our poor Indian brother, who was now in the merciless hands of the savage. The texts of the day were also very encouraging to us.

On the 15th, the following account was brought; that when Joshua was presented to the old chief (whom he soon convinced of the falsehood of his assertions), old Tettepachsit frankly confessed, that he had accused him, merely to pacify the enraged multitude, and to escape from the torture; for that Joshua well knew that he possessed no poison, and much less had hid it in Joshua's house. Joshua was now pronounced not guilty, yet they would not permit him to return, but insisted on his remaining with them, till the Shawnee should arrive. This son of Belial arrived on the same day, and all the Indians, of both sexes, were ordered by him to sit down in a large circle, when he would declare who had poison in his possession, with a view to destroy the Indians. The two old chiefs Tettepachsit and Hackinpomska were both accused of poison-mixing, and the former more particularly charged with the untimely death of many Indians. When the Shawnee was asked about Joshua, he indeed declared

that he had no poison, but that he was possessed of an evil spirit, by which he was enabled to destroy other Indians. This verdict was what they wished for; they now seized all these poor innocent people, and watched them strictly, as condemned criminals. We knew nothing of these horrible events, until the evening of the 16th, when a message was brought, that the savages had burnt an old woman alive, called Caritas, who was baptized by the Brethren in former times, and had frequently visited Bethlehem; and also that our poor Joshua was kept close prisoner. Words are not able to express our horror and grief on hearing this account. Though we were told, that perhaps Joshua would not be killed, we were seized with such terror, that we could neither eat, drink, or sleep, and by day and night were overwhelmed with grief; for we could not trust the superstitious and enraged Indians, and well knew the violence of their hatred against all believers.

On the 17th, our distress and fear concerning the fate of our poor Joshua rose still higher. We were stunned with horror, when on that day, quite unexpectedly, we saw ten of the most savage Indians, with faces painted black, arrive in our settlement (some on foot and some on horseback), conducting poor old Tettepachsit. Soon after, these murderous wretches kindled a large fire close to our place, and, having given the aged chief a blow on the head with a war-hatchet, they threw him alive into the flames, and diverted themselves with the miserable cries and convulsions of the poor dying man. The flames communicated to the grass and wood near the settlement, by which all our dwellings were filled with smoke. How shall we describe our feelings! We considered ourselves in the midst of a gang of murderers, without the least human help; above all, the probable fate of our dear Joshua tormented our minds.

After the commission of this most horrible murder, the savages came boldly into our house, boasted of their atrocious deed, and, assuming a hypocritical mien, demanded bread and tobacco, which we were obliged to give them. We took courage to ask them, what would be the fate of our poor Joshua. They immediately began to accuse him of their superstitions, saying, that there was good reason for detaining him a prisoner, for they well knew, that he understood the black art, and could destroy the Indians, his faith in our doctrines being a mere pretence. We endeavored, indeed, to convince them of the untruth of these assertions, but all in vain. They, however, pretended to set our minds at rest, by saying, that they should not kill him. We therefore charged them to tell their captains, that they ought well to consider what they were doing; that Joshua had long been a believer, and never had had any concern with the things of which they accused him, as he was a servant of God, and had renounced the devil and all his works; that he was also of

the Mahican tribe, and no Delaware, and had accompanied us as interpreter. We therefore requested, that they would immediately release him, for we should consider all they did unto him, as done unto ourselves, &c. On this occasion was made manifest the diabolical hypocrisy of these savages, for though they knew, that Joshua was to be murdered that very day, they promised to deliver our words to the captains. We perceived, however, that our defence of Joshua had displeased them, and they left our place in a riotous manner.

As soon as we were again left alone, such a weight of grief overpowered us, that we all burst into loud weeping, and, falling on our knees before our Lord and Saviour, we cried for help and strength, and for resignation to His divine will. We commended ourselves and our poor Joshua to His protection, and our souls into His hands, that if He thought fit to permit this our Brother and ourselves to become a prey to the fury of the savages, He would support us by His almighty grace, that we might praise Him, and remain faithful to Him, even in torments and death. None of us can or will ever forget what our sensations were on this awful occasion.

Now though we had been informed that the savages suspected us and all teachers of the believing Indians; that, as soon as Indians are converted, we require them to deliver up their poison, and keep it for the purpose of making those Indians sick, who will not do as we direct them, or even of killing them; and we did not know to what lengths the devil might instigate them to carry their fury, nor what our fate might be, especially as they had threatened to attack every one who objected to their proceedings; yet we felt constrained, in this extremity, to go with a speech to their assembly, and try what we could yet do for the preservation of our dear Joshua, or at least give him comfort and advice, should we even suffer for it. But as my wife and children could not be left alone in so dreadful a situation, Brother Luckenbach took courage to go alone, intending to seek some trader on the road to accompany him.

On the 18th, early, he left us on horseback, but had hardly proceeded half way, before he met an Indian, who informed him that Joshua had become a victim to their cruelty on the foregoing day. They gave him two cuts in his head with a hatchet, and then threw him into the fire.

With these dreadful tidings Brother Luckenbach returned to us in the afternoon. This was the heaviest stroke we had yet met with. Dread and terror took from us all power of speech and reflection, and we could do nothing but utter cries of lamentation and woe.

Having recovered ourselves, in some measure, our first thought was to sell all our goods, and to fly as expeditiously as possible towards Goshen. We were making preparations to put this resolution into execution,

when, on a sudden, the weather turning very cold, we were prevented, on account of the children, from departing so soon as first intended.

Some days after, we were informed, that Joshua had spoken a great deal, at the place where he was murdered, in a language not understood by the Indians, which led us to suppose, that he had directed his prayers to the Lord in the German language, which he spoke well. When the savages forced him from us, he was in a very comfortable state of mind, and seemed well prepared to meet his Saviour as a reconciled sinner. We likewise heard, that his murderers had thrown him into a very large fire, to which they continually added more fuel, but finding, that after having been two hours in the flames, his body was only scorched, they grew more enraged, and kept up a terrible fire all night, by which the body was burnt to ashes in the morning. In the following days, more Indians were accused, and shared the same fate.

We do not doubt, dear Brethren, but you will sympathize with our most distressing situation, especially when you consider that we are here alone among an unbridled, furious race of beings, who murder and burn their own countrymen, and admit of no remonstrance against their diabolical proceedings. We spend our days in dread and terror, by which our strength of mind and body is impaired, nor do we know which way to turn. My poor wife is much to be pitied, as her mind has received such a shock by the horrible events that have happened here, that she has no rest day nor night, and I am greatly alarmed for the consequences.

We have, however, resolved to remain here, till we receive an answer from you respecting our future proceedings, though we conceive ourselves in the most imminent danger. For we know now for certain that all the Indians of the lower towns have determined to come into this neighborhood, and to build their town about five English miles from us. All the old chiefs have been murdered, and the savages have informed us, that the promises made formerly by them respecting our abode here, are no longer binding, as the old men have no more any authority, but the young people bear the sway, and do as they please. The majority carries every measure proposed; but the majority are sworn enemies to us and the gospel, and openly declare, that whoever is baptized by us, makes a covenant with the devil; our doctrine being false, and their doctrine alone from God; that they therefore knew well how to live without our teaching. We have, consequently, to expect no protection from them, but every malicious persecutor may do with us what he pleases.

Before these dreadful events took place, we had resolved to follow our Brethren's advice, and to change our place of abode, but, after much trouble, could not find any suitable situation on this river. We, therefore, had some thoughts of settling within the Indian territory, at least for the present; but since no Delaware would follow us into a country

inhabited by another tribe, nor indeed would it be permitted, according to the present regulations, we have no other prospect before us, but that of quitting this place altogether.

In hopes of soon receiving your answer, we commend ourselves to your compassion and love, and to the prayers of all our Brethren and Sisters and friends, that in this dangerous and distressing situation, the Lord our Saviour would comfort and strengthen us, and grant unto us His peace, even in the midst of tribulation.

We remain ever, &c.

It is almost needless to say that on receipt of this letter the Church authorities consented to the abandonment of the mission. Under date of September 16, 1806, the diary contains this entry:

The pack-horses were loaded and on the 16th, toward noon, we left the White River. Before doing so, however, we once more recalled the many proofs of the gracious assistance and protection of our dear Lord and Saviour which we enjoyed here during the 5 years and 4 months of our stay in this place. We had much to be grateful for in many respects, and with a feeling of shame and sadness in our hearts, we thanked Him for all His help and commended our seed-time of tears to Him.

With this our mission here came to a close.

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THE USE, THE ABUSE, AND THE WRITING OF TEXT-BOOKS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

A successful course in history comprehends three things: a capable teacher, a more or less intelligent pupil, and an adequate text. Other equipment, such as maps and pictures, is helpful, but it does not rank in importance with the triumvirate first named. I have been asked to discuss the text, and I want to sound the key-note of my position by emphasizing the dignity and importance of the text-book. I do this because there has been a tendency at times to speak of "text-book courses" in a tone of contempt—as though text-books were "poor, weak things," quite beneath the consideration of an "up-to-date" and forward looking teacher, who would of course lay most emphasis on collateral reading, source-books, and current literature, and would condemn along with text-books such obsolete and unnecessary things as dates and facts and history other than recent history. In advocating text-book courses, I am not of course attempting to defend the old memoriter method where the pupil attempted to memorize the lesson and the teacher heard him recite it. If that method is not yet dead it ought to be, for it has been annually ridiculed at teachers' meetings for a generation or more. I am attacking the reaction against that method which has often been carried too far and has condemned a good thing, the text, because it has been abused.

Much of my work as a college teacher of history has been devoted to freshman classes. For several years, I dispensed with a text and based the work upon a syllabus and collateral reading. The result was not very satisfactory. The students had practical difficulties in getting the books at the library and wasted time. But more important than this: having read topically in several books, they came to class without a clear idea of the evolution of things. The time in class had to be taken up in giving them the story—isn't that just what a good text-book does? The time of the class was devoted to the narrative which might just as well have been gained from a text before coming to class. Now I

select a good text-book. The students study the narrative before coming to class. The time of the class is taken up in discussing the story. They may have their books open or not as they please. I ask questions to bring out the important facts. We criticize the author if he deserves it. For instance, if he is inclined to over-emphasize the economic causes of events, if he organizes a chapter illogically, if he fails to elucidate a subject properly, we are as quick to reprimand him as were the students at Bologna to reprimand their teachers. We use the text as the minister uses a text from the Bible—as a basis for discussion, comment, criticism, interpretation. We do not follow the text slavishly—we exercise toward it an independent if respectful judgment of our own.

I fail to see why thirty paragraphs read in five different books are more valuable preparation for class work than thirty paragraphs read in one book. The one book gives the material in a clear, coherent way. The same material taken from five books lacks unity and clearness, and the time of the class must be taken up in adding the connecting tissue. We can save a step by using a text and devoting the class time to the discussion of the material.

Of course I favor collateral reading—with emphasis on the word “collateral.” I would have reading outside the text to stimulate interest, to give additional details, to suggest special topics for investigation, to give an acquaintance with books, and to teach the student to study topically.

If we are agreed that the text should be the basis of the work, we may go on to examine the essentials of a good text. It should be a rather large book. If it is too small it is merely an outline, and an outline does not give enough detail to make interesting reading. It should be a large, interesting book. It should be adapted to the grade of student who is to use it. Technically speaking, the author should have had the psychological point of view. He should have aimed to include only those facts which have social value. Again, speaking technically, the author should have been possessed of the social viewpoint. This emphasis on the social viewpoint is very much to the fore just now. It means that the book should include only those facts which help the student to relate himself to his environment.

Consequently, the latest text-books in American history attempt—to quote James Harvey Robinson in his preface to Muzzey's *American history*—"the arduous task of giving the great problems and preoccupations of to-day their historic setting."

It follows naturally from this that recent history is emphasized. This is done in such texts as those of Hart, McLaughlin, Muzzey, Fite, and Beard and Bagley. When I took my first teaching position I was told I could teach American history down to 1876. According to my superintendent, that was as far as American history went. Now the period since 1876 is considered most essential and the period since 1900 is being given increasing attention.

Military campaigns, lists of casualties, and methods of warfare are relatively neglected. I am not sure that this neglect is in harmony with the social point of view. Our environment yesterday was characterized by war—it is likely to be so again tomorrow. At any rate one need not be a pessimist who would predict further war experience by the generation now going to school. Future wars, like the last, will be wars between nations in arms, not between armies of professional soldiers. I think then that text-book writers might well devote more space to war-time conditions not only at home but in the army, to the improvements in weapons, to the strategy of campaigns, and to the life of the soldier in past and present war. I would not have a romantic glamour cast over the conflicts of armed men nor would I dwell unduly upon the horrors and sufferings of such epochs, but I would have the facts stated as clearly and unemotionally as facts about the tariff. I think that if the minds of our future soldiers were prepared in some such way, the shocks and disillusionment of war would be lessened.

In accepting the social point of view we need to keep fundamentals in mind. History should be kept free from contemporary propaganda and surface currents of opinion. History teaches citizenship and Americanism, but it should reject much that popularly passes for Americanism today. Americanism in the best sense does not mean a blind and unreasoning faith that America has never done wrong and never can do wrong, that our present machinery of government is so perfect that no improvements are possible, that our elected officers are chosen

under such a system of democratic government that they must necessarily be fully responsible to public opinion. To put it very bluntly, Americanism does not mean Prussianism. And yet in a recent book for teachers I find the following: "In kindling the fires of patriotism and in filling the minds and hearts of our young citizens with love of country and the blessings of liberty in a free land, the subject of history stands supreme. But it took . . . a destructive world war . . . to teach the American people how far they had fallen short in welding their citizens into an homogeneous nation. Had our school teachers been as diligent to extol the deeds of our heroic men and women and inspire our youth with a true regard for the lofty ideals of American liberty and equality as the schoolmasters of our adversaries, the Germans, have been in glorifying the past history and achievements of Germany and her rulers the unfaltering loyalty of every citizen would never have been questioned when we entered the great conflict."¹

Now Americanism in the best sense does extol the blessings of liberty and the deeds of our heroic men, but it points out too that man's reach exceeds his grasp and that in our struggle to attain democracy we have not always been true to the best that is in us.

The history of America, from one point of view, is the record of a struggle for democracy. In the main the record is an honorable one, but it has its lights and shadows. I would teach American history as the story of human beings struggling to achieve democracy, not of demi-gods actually realizing their ideals. I would teach Americanism, first, by imparting to the student an appreciation of and an enthusiasm for the ideals of our republic; second, by teaching the story of the American people in their efforts to achieve their ideals, pointing out the crises where the issue of democracy is clear, and analyzing the outcome by comparing and contrasting the ideals with the facts; third, by instilling into the student a burning desire to have a part in this struggle for democracy, a part in making the facts square with the ideals. In short, I would teach American democracy as a dynamic, not a static thing. It is a power, a force, a spirit, an

¹J. B. Arp, *Rural education and the consolidated school* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York, 1918), 73.

ideal. It is constantly producing static items — platforms, resolutions, laws, constitutions — and these static items at a given time may reflect the democratic ideals of their makers; but as conditions change, laws and constitutions must change — else they fail to embody the democratic idea.

You have by this time discovered that I am influenced in this discussion by the great controversy between those who believe that religion is dynamic and those who hold that it is static, i. e., revealed and embodied in dogma. Whatever our views on the nature of religion, can we not agree that American democracy is dynamic, that the school-house should be the power-house whence is generated a democratic force that will work for democracy in our institutions and in our lives? Isn't this conception of a power-house preferable to that of a cold storage plant where well preserved items of democracy are distributed to the pupils to be accepted blindly and swallowed whole?

Social and industrial history is finding a larger place in our newer text-books. This is justified by the social point of view and by the variety and complexity of the economic and social problems in our present environment. Peace movements and foreign relations are given greater space, and rightly so. Religious history continues to be neglected except in the European background and colonial period. Surely the Christian church is prominent in contemporary America — why not carry the social viewpoint to its logical conclusion and give to American church history the place to which its social importance entitles it?

I cannot close this paper without commenting on the illustrations and maps that are given in recent texts. They are improving all the time and add much to the interest and value of the books. The equipment for teachers includes numerous lists of questions, outlines for review, topics and references for further study. One can only hope that the powers that rule the schools will not be led to believe that an untrained teacher with a text full of "helps and hints" can ever take the place of a teacher with a real knowledge of his subject.

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HOW THE WAR SHOULD AFFECT THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

The coming of the war to Europe and then to America gave to the teacher of history certain well defined ideas as to his immediate obligation. The immediate problem was to make history play its part in helping to meet the situation. As conditions become at least to some extent normal and as we resume the attitude of the critic toward the content and interpretation of history, the nearness of the war calls for tentative statement rather than assertion. Time and a larger fund of information must modify our present conclusions. In this discussion I make no claim to originality — the following conclusions must be well known to all students of history.

Each part of the topic—the war and its effects on the one side, and the teaching of history on the other—has its own story. A consideration of each and of the relation of the one to the other is vital to the welfare of society as it is today. Such a statement seems commonplace, but the seriousness of its truth lifts it out of the commonplace. It is what the war involved and what has followed that make its effects so vital to our entire social structure.

In its causes the great war involved the economic, social, and political ambitions and attainments of all the great powers of Europe. Ancient empires and unexplored continents had been bargained for and divided under spheres of influence and into permanent possessions. Waterways, railroad rights, gold and diamond mines, tropical riches and trade had been objects of European rivalry. Backward nations were the subjects of the manifest destiny of Christian civilizations. Submerged peoples inspired by their history and literature had been roused to the ambition for a national life. Through these conditions there played the ideals of the peoples involved. These ideals were ages old in their formation. Constitutional right and autocratic power, national superiority and imperial expansion, naval supremacy and military impregnability contended.

In progress, the war was marked by methods for the destruction of life and property, evidences of the reversion to the barbarous, and the results of the highest attainment in modern military and naval tactics. On the other hand, the nurse's equipment and practice, the physician's medical science, and the surgeon's skill spared no effort in the alleviation of suffering. Science did its utmost to destroy and to restore.

In result, the war attempted the adjustment of territorial boundaries centuries old in dispute, gave self-determination to racial units long under autocratic control, made mandatory provision for the economically and politically unfit, claimed the triumph of the principles of democracy over those of autocracy and the creation of a league of nations for purposes of future international adjustment and international peace.

The years which witnessed economic and political struggles witnessed social unrest and change. Profiting by the commercial and industrial revolutions, the middle classes of Europe had become the traders and the people of wealth and had drawn the social distinction from the nobility and clergy. In turn the peasants and town laborers were making their demands upon the rich middle class and the remnants of nobility. All of the states of Europe and the British Empire had responded with some forms of social legislation for the protection of these classes. By 1914, however, the conflicting ambitions of the social classes remained, and the problem of the alleviation of the conditions of the peasants and working classes was scarcely touched. If it was treated seriously, as in Germany, the source of legislation was autocratic and the motive industrial efficiency and physical fitness for military service. Great numbers of these socially restless with their notions of social legislation, had come to America in the years before the war. War in Europe was followed by revolutions in the states participating. There are misery and disorder and dying civilizations. Economic rivalries between the states, and the failure to appreciate the necessity for coöperation instead, offer conditions for future wars.

The ravages of big business, the demands of labor, the unreasonable cost of living, the senseless drives for money and its ruthless expenditure in America are evidences that we are still in the grip of war methods and war practices. The fact that such a war could be has unsettled us. In spite of it all, however,

there are still to be found the fundamental principles of our national life and the foundations of our national institutions, and there are men with balance of judgment and steadfastness of character to find them.

So much for the war—it has been a wild and terrible thing and its results are not determined. What of history teaching?

The question of the teaching of history in the schools of the United States is scarcely less involved than is the great war. What the history of the teaching of history may have lacked in terror it has made up for in evasiveness.

It was not until after the middle of the nineteenth century that history was generally accepted as an essential school study. From that time there has been discussion concerning its relative position in the grades and high school; what should be the requirements for college entrance and what should be left for college and university. The Madison conference in 1892 presented the first program in America comparing in completeness with those planned in Europe. There have been committees composed of all numbers from five to fifteen to consider courses of study in the schools. The difficulties have been many and varied. First it seemed impossible to determine the nature of history; and then, just as it was conceived to be anything which had to do with the life of man in the past, enthusiastic adherents of other social sciences announced that when history was differentiated into their sciences, as it would be, there would be left no life of man in the past. When the industrial arts were determined necessary parts of the school curriculum and education to be of use must be practical, history suffered and was in danger of being crowded out. As the demand in education was toward the consideration of present day problems, and those only, anything so ancient as history again suffered. Dr. Henry Johnson says concerning this condition:

At the present time, History seems to be losing rather than gaining in favor with school administrators. The demand is for social studies of direct and immediate concern to individual communities. Questions relating to public health, to housing and homes, to good roads, and the like, in the present, are coming to be viewed as of greater importance than questions relating to how people lived in the past. The educational perspective is rapidly changing. It is becoming increasingly clear that the children must know something about the duties of the garbage collector

and the gas inspector; it is becoming less clear that they should know something about the deeds of Alexander and Charlemagne. Attention is now being focused more definitely than ever before upon vital present problems, and there is a growing tendency to ask of history primarily and chiefly that it contribute to an understanding of these problems. The question then becomes, not what in the past is important in representing and explaining the past, but what in the past is important to us. Current programs and current text books are severely criticised because they do not properly subordinate history to this most recent use of history.¹

This was the progress made in the history of history teaching by 1914.

The effects of the war upon the teaching of history do not consist in the discovery of new ideas. Rather the war has caused the reconsideration of history and its known attributes as a subject of study, is calling for a revaluation of those attributes and is placing the emphasis where it seems to belong. It is possible that the final test for history as a subject of study is not war. War does not determine what individuals and nations are. They are made before war comes. War tests them. This war with the circumstances following, is proving pretty effectually the stuff of which individuals and nations are made and how they are going to meet the future which confronts them. It is somewhat the same with the subject whose theme is human experience and human effort. The highest values of history as a subject of study are not determined in time of war, but this war did test both the subject and the teaching of it as to their ability to sustain the claims made for those values. The war demanded and, with the circumstances of the world as they are today, is still demanding that history prove itself, and that the teaching of school history be so reconstructed as to render the largest service to society.

The effects which the war should have upon the teaching of history are, I believe, to be found under, first, the appreciation; second, the interpretation; and third, the content of the subject.

When in the summer of 1914 war in Europe loomed imminent and then came, history was called upon to explain the world conditions which had produced it. I was told that in some centers

¹ Henry Johnson, *Teaching of history in elementary and secondary schools* (New York, 1915), 159.

the demand on the part of the general public for a certain text book in modern Europe could scarcely be met. History was recognized as the subject through which the war was to be made intelligible. At the same time the most essential element, perhaps, in the conception of history as a science was recognized; that is, that the explanation of the present lies far in the past—that the dominating idea in history is that of development.

In the world of scholarship there was the same appreciation and the same demand. History must account for this thing which had happened. In colleges and universities classes grew larger and there was new enthusiasm. The demand was for modern history, and, as America became involved, for the history and practice of international law, and the principles and practices in comparative governments. To the appreciation of the general reader, the student added the appreciation of the historically minded. The historically minded seeks to see events in the light of the time in which they happened. He seeks to understand, to interpret with judgment, to distinguish between accounting for and justifying. He is willing to seek all sides of a question that he may know the truth.

The lack of appreciation for school history is usually due to a lack of interest; lack of interest is usually due to lack of the power and the opportunity to visualize. The war furnished the opportunity to visualize, and history was vitalized to the school students. European peoples and European countries became real through maps and pictures and letters and war souvenirs. Students went abroad either really or in imagination and saw Belgium invaded, Poland devastated, no-man's-land a barren waste, and even *saw* institutions broken down and human justice and human decency outraged. School administrators encouraged history teaching and history study. The teacher of history did not fail to teach the lessons of European and American history arising out of the war. When the United States entered the war, the government called upon history to explain our entrance and to furnish instruction in European and American institutions.

This new appreciation due to the war should justify the demand and result in giving to the subject a larger place in the school curriculum. When the field for study is human experience and human effort, there should be some time given to some

course in history in each grade below the high school, and at least two years required in high school, with the opportunity for more.

The second group of effects which the war should have upon the teaching of history is a matter of the interpretation of the subject. Homer first used the word and suggested the process of history. It meant inquiry, and the inquiry which he instituted was one for truth in a legal procedure. The interpretations of history have been varied. It was simple literature—it was didactic in purpose. There has been a philosophy of history, an economic interpretation, and a dynamic one. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that history was thought of as a science. Under the influences of the natural sciences historians began research work. They became thoroughly critical in the examination of their materials and were satisfied only with that which after the most careful scrutiny they found to be the truth. This method of interpretation was the one which was valued, and was attempted on the part of the student and the research worker during the war.

At the same time the interpretation of history as science was criticised. From one source came the charge that too much had been credited to the science of history. The war was a surprise and the historian had failed to explain the present social order from his study of the past. From Professor Thayer in his address prepared for the American historical association at Cleveland, came the criticism of history as a science because it was linked in thought with the Germans' psychology of fear, with their exaggerated and war-producing notion of the "survival of the fit," and with their method of study which leads to the consideration of human beings as the chemist would consider his substance—subject under given conditions to immutable law. He would retain the German thoroughness and care but said that the German has no monopoly on thoroughness and care.

In answer to these criticisms, a science of history so subject to laws that the historian could foretell the war's developing according to those very laws, would defeat its own ends. The human element in history bars such a notion. Such a foreknowledge would have changed the trend of human events. Neither before nor during the war did the American historian interpret

history as a science in the extreme interpretation of the German. The effort to discover laws for social evolution—exact laws as found in natural science—was abandoned early in the history of the science of history. It is not an underlying law or cause or agency that the scientific historian is seeking. It is the activities of human society in the past. The scientific historian in America defines history as does Professor Burr when he gives the central tasks of history: "Her method is research, her theme human experience and human effort, her aim to portray." The war emphasized this method. This must continue to be the method through which history is to be interpreted if the war or the experiences of the nations involved are to be understood.

With the demand of the war upon its historians to discover and present truth in a scientific way came the demand to make use of that truth. This suggested the old idea of history as a guide, a warning, a moral lesson, an incentive to patriotism. The scientific historian, when he has dealt with human experience and human effort, when he has found his truth and has portrayed and interpreted it, has considered his task done. Is this demand for such an interpretation the old philosophy of history? Not in the sense of history as a theological unity, a unity with God in it, which leads to divine right, to the discovery of some predetermined good, and in general to the laying of much blame upon God because of man's heinous misinterpretation of His purpose. Neither is it the old conception that history should cultivate the moral and spiritual nature. No course of study of such a nature would be accepted. Yet the truth which the science of history has revealed is to be considered for its moral worth and for its constructive value in the making of men and of citizens.

The war taught us to teach the nature and course of German and European history, to discover what was wrong with Europe and to avoid that wrong. The war taught us to teach the nature and course of our own history seriously, to discover the principles for which we stood. Our institutions are right, we hope, but they are not right because they are ours. In the sense of human betterment they are the nearest right that we have been able to evolve. The very war teaches itself not alone as a scientific fact with a scientific interpretation but as a lesson of criminal ambition, of ruthless waste of life and property with

resulting distress, poverty, social degradation and chaos. Because of it the United States must learn what is to be taught at home and how to teach it. For a long time, also, she is to be largely responsible for right ideas and decisions to the world.

In content, the effects of the war upon the teaching of history should be:

First, a clearer conception than before that the economic, industrial, social, and moral concerns of men are more vital to the happiness and safety of society and to the welfare of the state than are political organization and protective strength. The former are the forces that touch and make safe or unsafe the life of the individual. History has revealed that states have endured or crumbled according as the lives of their citizens were clean and capable and free to act.

Second, a new emphasis upon modern history for its ability to reveal the world of the present and because it is the last act in the drama of human experience. There are two approaches to the emphasis in the teaching of modern history. The first is by a short cut through ancient and medieval history to the modern. This is made in order that modern history may have the favor in point of time and at the same time there be preserved the order of development in history. The second approach is made by abandoning the chronological in history and following what some critics call the logical. The history, or rather the life, of the present is attacked, and since the present can be understood only through a knowledge of the past and how the present came to be, each point of interest is followed back to its source.

Third, the preservation of a study in ancient and medieval history to preserve the cultural value arising from a knowledge of these civilizations and to see the movement of human experience and human effort from the beginning. It is the preservation of the study of the past for the sake of the past.

Fourth, a study of statesmen and their policies as an interpretation of the study of the national life of a people. The war has made such a study something more than the former biographical approach to history. By it history is vitalized and becomes real. National policies are revealed and world movements are made known through the letters and state papers of national and international statesmen. The study of the personnel of the

British ministry from 1760 to 1783, of the reactionary policy of George III, of the economic purposes and political philosophy of the colonial leaders, tells the story of the American revolution in its truest light. English statesmen of the conservative and liberal faith of the past century are true reflections of the development of Britain's imperial expansion on the one side, and her constitutional democracy on the other side.

○ Fifth, the consideration of European history — a history not alone of the states of Europe but of these states taken together. Adjacent territory, parallel social conditions, common economic interests, furnish a basis for a common history. Under the present interpretation of the relation of these states it may be a history of future wars. Studied with the viewpoint of their mutual interests and understandings, it may be a history of peace for Europe.

7 Sixth, the study of American history and American institutions for Americans. The war has shown the necessity of this for the American born and much more and with different plans for the alien.

○ Seventh, the development of the already appreciated old and new pan-Americanism. There is a new interest in the study of Spanish American colonies and of the Latin American states. There is a keener appreciation of the relation of these states and of the part which the United States has played and is to play in pan-American history.

7 Eighth, the study of international relations. The world was far on in the development of the international mind before the great war. From every standpoint there has come to be a world history. Whatever may be the present attitude of the United States toward the league of nations, it is clear that circumstances of industry and trade, ideals in society and government, make it impossible again to follow our policy of isolation. We cannot—we do not wish to.

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THE TRIALS OF A HISTORY TEACHER

When I was asked to read a paper before the history teachers' section of the Mississippi valley historical association my answer was something like this: "I have no subject in mind. What shall I select?" It was suggested to me that I present a brief paper on the trials of a history teacher. I mention this to dispel the thought, if such has arisen, that I have some particular vicissitudes to proclaim, hoping thereby to find consolation and rest for a weary soul in the bosom of my fellow workers. Not at all. I suppose, however, that none of the profession is altogether free from certain petty annoyances which in more pessimistic moods may assume the aspect of trials. Some of the things I mention may seem trivial. Perhaps they are. I am not sure that the word "trials" is the proper word to employ in connection with them but I shall hold to it nevertheless, acting upon the theory that if you have made a bad bargain you should stick to it all the more closely.

I shall first introduce you to an oral quiz. The history instructor announces a topic and calls upon a student to discuss it. The student stumbles about for half a minute and then stops. The instructor calls upon other students to contribute to the discussion, with similar results. What happens then? You know before I tell you. Minute questions are asked, and by slow degrees the desired information is extracted from the class. Why does the history teacher in college have to spend himself thus as he so often does? The answer is easy. The student does not know how to study. It may be that he has been taught to lean upon an outline or to rely upon guidance questions. When thrown upon his own resources he is helpless. At any rate he has not learned how to take assigned readings on some subject, extract essential points, and group matters of less importance around them. All the facts on the printed page look the same. I am not accusing anybody. I have been as guilty as anyone in failing to correct this shortcoming. But I am convinced that it would be a saving of energy in the long run for

even the history teacher in the college to take a little time to teach the students how to study when he discovers that they do not know how.

In an examination recently given to a college class just completing a course in the recent history of the United States the instructor learned that Joseph Cannon was a senator from Ohio, that Champ Clark is the present speaker of the house of representatives, that Robert Lansing is President Wilson's secretary of war, that he is the secretary of the interior, that John Hay is the present secretary of state and was a member of the peace commission, and that Robert H. Gillet is the inventor of a well-known safety razor. Was this not enough to add several years to that instructor's age? What was the trouble? In two or three of the above instances the students were asked to identify names that had not been mentioned in class. These students had not been reading and keeping up with the times. It is my humble opinion that every student, even before entering college, should have acquired the habit of reading at least one good periodical in addition to the daily paper. At any rate this should be one of the earliest acquisitions of the college student.

I presume all history teachers have at times been sorely tried by the most glaring evidences of ignorance of some of the most common facts of history. Is it safe to assume a knowledge of anything, even that "in 1492 Columbus sailed the ocean blue"? Sometimes I have been led to doubt it. What do you think of the plan of giving a brief written test at the beginning of the term or semester in order to determine at the outset the students' familiarity with some of the common facts of the period or subject to be covered? It would, I believe, give the instructor some idea of the plane upon which to pitch the course. The writer had the experiment tried on him several years ago by an honored member of this association. It was at the beginning of a course in government and politics. A few simple facts that anybody ought to know were asked us. Not long ago I employed the same method in a class just taking up the study of the colonial period and the revolution. I discovered this much, that I would not be teaching the majority of that class something they already knew by requiring them to learn who William Bradford and John Winthrop were and what historical significance is attached to Watauga and the Wilderness road.

This ignorance of which I have been speaking extends in like manner to the literature of the subject. Rarely have I found students beginning the study of American history who have used such well known historical writings as those of Parkman, Channing, McMaster, Henry Adams, and Rhodes. If students must wait until they enter college to be introduced to these great standard works, the majority will never be introduced to them at all. I do not like to think of this, but it is a greater trial still to meet with an experience like the following:

Here is some student who has been under your wise instruction for several weeks. You think you have thoroughly indoctrinated him with a knowledge of the leading authorities of the field that is being studied. Then some day you will be taken by surprise by having said student very innocently bring to your desk a little, out-of-date, second-rate text book and inquire whether it will be all right to use it. Frequently the information is volunteered that the book has been used all the time and has been found to be very helpful.

My advice to history teachers under such circumstances would be, keep calm and don't get discouraged. Go right on with your task. It is my firm conviction that it is just as important to familiarize the student with the literature of the subject as it is to teach the facts. The facts may be forgotten. Most of them probably will be. Hence it becomes of the greatest importance to know the best sources of information.

A number of years ago a professor of history in Harvard remarked that nine minds in ten take polish passively like a hard surface; only the tenth resistably reacts. The statement is of course an exaggeration, but where is the history teacher who has not at times felt keenly this lack of responsiveness and whose enthusiasm has not been dampened by the lethargic manner manifested by many students toward some new points of view of Dr. Alvord concerning British control of the territory northwest of the Ohio or Professor Hodder's new conception of the Kansas-Nebraska act? It may be a discussion of the Jesuits "struggling through frozen forests on snow shoes, crouching in the crowded hunting lodge—saying masses among the solitudes of Lake Superior," or of the fur traders of the far west holding their annual rendezvous in some "verdure clad valley—set in the midst of snow capped mountains." It may be a discussion

of steamboat days on the Mississippi, of travel over those picturesque old Oregon and Santa F  trails or an account of the work of the Franciscans in early California where the "bells of the past, whose long-forgotten music still fills the wide expanse" awaken visions in the poet of "the dying glow of Spanish glory." Whatever it may be, there is the same absence of enthusiastic response. Can it be that this is often due to the fact that the student has no real notion of the old point of view? And can it be that the failure of some of the most picturesque things in American history to arouse interest is due to the belief of many that all historical facts are necessarily dry? Is it because the imaginative faculty is not developed and used properly? Perhaps the competition of the movies has something to do with it. I am sure I do not know.

Fortunate indeed is the history teacher who has risen high enough in the ranks of the profession to be able to have an assistant to perform some of the routine work, especially that of grading examination manuscripts. I am not thinking alone of the extra time it would give to him who has a desire to push back the veil just a little by adding a trifle to the sum total of historical knowledge; I am thinking of something else also. It is a little matter; perhaps it does not bother you. But I must confess it is exceedingly trying to me sometimes. I am thinking of the miserable spelling encountered in looking over examination manuscripts. Some student, should the occasion arise to write the name of that president whom all old-time democrats still insist never should have been president, always writes it "Hays." The "plumed knight" is spelled "Blane." A less pardonable error is the misspelling of the name of the man who once said, "You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." However many times everybody has seen this name in print since that memorable speech was delivered, someone invariably manages to spell it "Bryant." But I must hasten on to just one other thing.

There is a trial which I feel quite sure has been the cause of much suffering upon the part of many a poor history teacher. In his graduate work he has given special attention to modern European history or American history, let us say. And in the very first teaching position he gets he is given some classes in

ancient or perhaps medieval history. There is nothing that makes for peace and tranquility of mind so much as being absolutely sure of oneself, as the sense of mastery of one's subject. But the history teacher placed in the opposite circumstance should take hope by recollecting that a greater even than he was once in a similar predicament. You will remember this testimony from *The education of Henry Adams*, describing the state of affairs when Adams first confronted his students in medieval history upon assuming his duties as a professor of history at Harvard. "If their new professor had asked what idea was in their minds, they must have replied that nothing at all was in their minds since their professor had nothing in his and down to the moment he took his chair and looked his scholars in the face he had given as far as he could remember an hour, more or less, to the Middle Ages." He adds that for the next nine months "he exhausted all his strength in trying to keep one day ahead of his duties." Professor Adams must have done a good job of it, for Henry Cabot Lodge informs us that he never really studied anything and never had his mind aroused to any exertion or to anything resembling active thought until in his senior year he stumbled into that course in medieval history. Unfortunately we are not all Henry Adamses.

The greatest trial I have ever experienced as a history teacher, however, has been that of trying to write this paper. And lest I be misunderstood, permit me to add that with all the burdens and vicissitudes resulting from my chosen profession I would not exchange it for any other. The compensations so far overbalance the trials that the latter sink into insignificance.

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PERILS OF RIVER NAVIGATION IN THE SIXTIES

The 1913 Britannica year book states, on page 15 that:

No single event in 1912 could compare, in the intensity of its universal appeal to human emotion, with the awful disaster to the "TITANIC." At 2:20 A. M., on April 15th, that great White Star liner, the largest afloat, on her maiden voyage went to the bottom of the Atlantic . . . about 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ hours after striking at full speed on an iceberg, with a loss of 1,513 souls out of 2,224 on board.

There is a striking parallel between this disaster and one which overtook the steamboat *Sultana* on the Mississippi river, on April 27, 1865. Both occurred during the early morning hours, when most of the passengers and at least half of the crew were asleep. In both cases, there was a total loss of boat and cargo. A total of 1,513 out of 2,224 on the *Titanic*, and 1,547 out of 2,175, on the *Sultana*, lost their lives. In both cases, the American people were afflicted and depressed, as though each individual had suffered a great personal loss.

The *Sultana* disaster was more heart-rending, because the victims were nearly all burned to death and most of the survivors were badly burned or scalded. Over 2,000 of the passengers on the *Sultana* were union officers and soldiers, returning to their homes from the prison camp at Andersonville, and taken on at Vicksburg. Two-thirds of these were from Ohio and Indiana. They were weak and emaciated, but full of hope that, in two or three days, they would be reunited with their families. Without warning of any sort, a fearful explosion took place. Steam and hot water from the boilers scalded the men who were lying crowded together on the boiler deck, and many were killed outright by flying fragments of boilers and machinery. The steamer took fire instantly and, as one of the survivors testified, it was not twenty minutes until "the whole boat was an entire sheet of flame." Those, only, escaped who leaped overboard and were either good swimmers or were able to snatch life-preservers, or loose doors and shutters, and thus keep afloat until picked

up by the *Bostona*, from Cincinnati, which arrived on the scene, on its way to Memphis, just in time to save hundreds of lives.¹

The *Cincinnati Enquirer* said on April 30, 1865:

Beyond all doubt, the late blowing up of the steamer *Sultana*, on the Mississippi, attended, as it was, with a loss of 1,400 lives [*underestimated*] is one of the greatest accidents recorded in the annals of time.

. . . The magnitude of the horror is perfectly shocking and astounding. The most of our river and ocean accidents fade into insignificance by the side of this overwhelming loss of life, terrible and calamitous as many of them have been.

Only two weeks before this calamity, President Lincoln had been assassinated; and the general public, already wrought up to a high pitch of excitement and resentment, attributed the *Sultana's* loss to the malicious placing of some high explosive in the coal which was taken on board at Memphis an hour or two before.²

So far as I know, no proof was ever furnished to confirm this suspicion. My own conclusion from the evidence taken before a military commission called to investigate the cause of the loss is that a series of rivet holes made in one of the boilers at Vicksburg, in order to fasten a patch upon it and stop its leaking, had so weakened the boiler that the enclosed section—patch and all—gave way, and both boilers were blown up, scalding and killing many outright and scattering red-hot coals all over the boat.

This suggests an inquiry into the nature of the ordinary perils which beset navigation on our western rivers.

The most obvious and the most deadly peril in steamboat navigation was fire. This was inherent in the structure of the boats themselves, in the position of the boilers, and in the

¹ Detailed accounts of this disaster may be found in the Memphis papers of April 28, 1865, and Cincinnati and St. Louis papers, of April 29 and 30. See also *St. Louis Republican*, May 16, 1865.

² The *Cincinnati Gazette*, May 1, 1865, said, "The destruction of passenger steamers is an organized system of Southern warfare. We need not recall the examples of it. It has been openly declared in the South and frequently carried into execution on the Mississippi. So also the secret obstruction of railroads to precipitate passenger trains to destruction. Arson was organized to fire Northern cities. Assassination . . . is brought into play to restore or avenge a defeated cause. Is it not in accordance with all this . . . that these insurgents should conspire to sink, explode and fire the vessels conveying our returning soldiers?"

location and character of the cargoes carried. The steamers had to be of light draft in order to pass over shoal places in the channel and to make required landings. The largest passenger boats in use, in the sixties, on the Ohio river and the upper Mississippi drew only four or five feet; and smaller boats, or boats navigating affluents of these rivers, seldom drew more than two or three. The hull had therefore to be wide in proportion to its length, and practically flat-bottomed. The hold was from five to eight feet deep, and only heavy freight, such as kegs of beer and nails, barrels of liquor, heavy castings, and steel rails, was stowed there. To make room for other freight, the guards were extended from five to twenty feet beyond the hull on each side, and on this broad deck were stacked on the down trip, furniture, dry goods, groceries, coal oil, crates of crockery packed in "excelsior," kegs of powder, bales of hay, and all sorts of produce; on the up trip, bales of cotton, hogsheads of tobacco and sugar, and boxes of tropical fruit. On the lower Mississippi and its tributaries, wood was used as fuel and stacked up on both sides of the lower deck.

In the middle of all this inflammable stuff, in the same deck and in plain sight, stood the boilers, under which the fires were kept burning, by a constant opening and shutting of furnace doors, stirring up the beds of live coal, shaking out the ashes and hot cinders, and piling on fresh wood or coal. Only a few feet above the boilers was the long cabin with a tier of state-rooms running along each side. The smoke stacks ran up from the boilers, through the front of the cabin or just outside. The cabin and state rooms were, necessarily, of the lightest construction and every throb of the engines, when the boat was in motion, could be felt throughout. The long cabin floor undulated, the chandeliers swung to and fro, and doors, window-sashes, and everything not securely fastened rattled merrily. The river steamer has been likened to "a house of cards on a waiter." The staterooms were provided with life-preservers and, more than this, the light doors and shutters were so constructed and hung that they could be readily taken off their hinges and thrown overboard to support persons obliged to take to the water to escape the more terrible ordeal of fire. The woodwork was painted with a composition into which turpentine, benzine,

and other inflammable substances entered. Once fire got fairly started in one of these cabins it spread with lightning rapidity and gave out an intense heat, and the man or woman who hesitated to run or who turned back, was lost. The *Sultana*, as we have seen, was as entire sheet of fire from stem to stern in twenty minutes after the explosion.

Fires may be started in a hundred different ways—as by throwing a lighted match or cigar near a bale of hay or cotton, upsetting a lamp or lantern, bringing a light too near a leaky barrel of coal oil or can of benzine, or carelessly handling ashes containing hot coals or cinders. Many accidents, such as colliding with another boat, or running aground, or bursting a flue, which would cause but little damage in themselves, start fires which are totally destructive of life and property.

Collisions are much more common on our rivers than on the great lakes or open sea. Owing to the narrow and tortuous channels, the boats are compelled to come quite near each other in passing, and strong currents, high winds, or a failure to understand or obey signals, may bring them together. To minimize the dangers as much as possible, the government framed regulations, printed copies of which were posted in the pilot house and engine room, and which every officer on a steamboat was supposed to know by heart. In spite of all such precautions and perfect good faith on the part of all concerned, collisions would occur.

A most remarkable case was that of the *United States* and *America*, two of the finest steamboats ever engaged in Ohio river navigation. Each was a double-decker, with two cabins, one above another. Each was about three hundred feet long and, including guards and wheel-houses, about eighty feet wide. Though the construction was light, it was good; the boats and machinery were kept in perfect condition; the officers and men were old and experienced employes of the company; the navigation between Cincinnati and Louisville, to which these boats were limited, is probably safer and freer from obstructions than any river stretch of equal length on our western rivers; and the captains, mates, and pilots were familiar with every foot of it. The owners were substantial citizens of Cincinnati and took great pride in their boats. The danger of any serious loss was

thought so small that the insurance companies issued policies on these boats for an annual premium of five per cent of the amount insured, instead of the ten or twelve per cent usually charged for insurance on river steamboats. The two boats, one of them almost new, were valued at \$330,000 and the insurance carried was \$240,000.

On the night of December 4, 1868, the *America* was proceeding from Louisville to Cincinnati, and the *United States* was going from Cincinnati to Louisville. They came in sight of each other just above Warsaw, Kentucky. It was a gray night with what deep-sea mariners call "low visibility," and the pilot on the *America* evidently misjudged the distance between the boats, for although it was his duty, under the rules, to signal first which side he wished to take, he delayed the signal, until the pilot on the *United States* gave one blast to indicate that he wished to pass to the right. The pilot on the *America* blew two blasts indicating that he wished to pass to the left. Both sought to avoid an old wreck on the Kentucky side and to take the Indiana side of the channel. When signals are crossed, as in this instance, it is the duty of both pilots to give warning whistles and to stop their engines, until an agreement is reached as to which side they will take in passing. This was not done. Why? The pilot on the *United States* did not hear the first blast of the *America*, because he was blowing his own whistle at the time the sound should have reached him. He heard the second blast of the *America's* signal and took it for granted that it was an answer to his signal and that both agreed that the boats should pass each other to the right. They were within four hundred yards of each other when the *America* repeated its signal and the pilot of the *United States* thought he had changed it. He whistled sharply once and both pilots stopped their engines and prepared to back. Before headway could be stopped the boats came together and the sharp armored bow of the *America* plowed through the larboard guard and side of the *United States*, and burst open several barrels of coal oil standing on her guards. In an instant, a fierce flame enveloped the whole front of the *United States*, extending above the hurricane deck. The *America* backed out and the *United States* began to sink, but swung around, its head up stream, and came alongside

of the *America*, setting her on fire in several places. It all occurred in a moment's time, and the clerk on the *United States* ran from front to rear through the cabins, shouting to wake the passengers, threw several shutters into the river to aid persons already struggling in the water, and then jumped in, himself, and swam to shore. He thought he was the last to leave the boat and that it was not more than five or six minutes from the time of the collision until both boats were entirely enveloped in flames. The *United States* sunk in the channel and its hull, boilers, and machinery were preserved in a more or less damaged condition, but the cabin and upper works were destroyed. The *America*, after backing free from the *United States*, landed on the Indiana shore. Most of the passengers and crew who were awake escaped by jumping into the river and swimming or wading ashore. The rest perished. The *America* was not injured by the collision, but completely destroyed by fire. The heat from the burning wreck was so intense that trees more than 150 feet away from the river bank were set on fire.³

Here was a terrible tragedy and no one seriously at fault! The chain of circumstances which led up to the disaster was seemingly such as to defy all rules and all precautions.

Several Cincinnati clergymen testified in their respective pulpits, the following Sunday, that the loss was due to the direct intervention of almighty God, who wished to rebuke the sin of a number of passengers who were indulging in dancing and other frivolity up to the time of the collision. It seems, however, that the clergymen must have been misinformed; for all the "wicked" dancers escaped and only the good, who retired at an early hour, were consigned to the flames.

The next greatest loss of life and property entrusted to river steamboats in the sixties was caused by the explosion of boilers, collapse of flues, and so forth. In fact, many losses by fire were the direct result of boiler explosions. A "gentleman, who has given the subject of steam navigation a great deal of attention," gave the *Cincinnati Commercial* a list, confessedly incomplete, of explosions on western and southern waters from

³ This account is derived from the records and briefs in the two test suits brought by Thomas Sherlock *et al.*, owners of the United States mail steamboats, against the Germania insurance company and the Globe insurance company. 25 *Ohio state reports*, 33, 50.

June 9, 1816, up to September 23, 1865, giving the names of the boats, dates of the explosions, and the number of lives lost on each occasion. The casualties from this cause numbered 66, and the lives lost, 3,279.⁴

The total loss of life, by steamboat disasters in the year 1865, as reported by the board of steamboat inspectors, was 2,050. They said:

The large number of accidents reported from some of the districts the past year may be referred to various ruling causes—recklessness, induced by the war, which extends its mischievous tendencies into all branches of trade, is particularly observable among those employed in or on board, some classes of steamers.

A large number of boats have been used during the war as transports, tugs and freight boats—these have been depreciated by long and continuous use—purchased and put on duty without proper examination, and even without precaution or regard to safety. This will doubtless be found among the most prominent causes of the terrible calamities which seem to be beyond the reach of official remedy.⁵

The inspectors' conclusion that many of the disasters were due to continued use of worn-out government transports is borne out by the fact that the shipyards at Cincinnati, which turned out from twenty-five to sixty-two new boats annually, before and after 1865, did not build one new boat that year.⁶ The ways were occupied exclusively by old boats being repaired or made over.

The government sold a large number of transports at Mound City in August, 1865, and the thrifty purchasers, while taking them to home ports for overhauling and refitting, putting in new boilers, etc., loaded them with as many passengers—chiefly returned soldiers—and as much freight as they could possibly carry. Thus, the *Argosy*, proceeding from Mound City to Cincinnati for refitting, carried a number of returning soldiers from the Seventieth Ohio. On August 21 it was blown ashore near Rome, Indiana, and the shock of striking the rocky bank exploded the mud drum. Hot water was thrown in all directions, scalding twenty soldiers, of whom two were killed outright and

⁴ *Cincinnati Commercial*, February 11, 1866.

⁵ Quoted, *ibid.*, February 11, 1866.

⁶ C. F. Goss, *Cincinnati, the queen city, 1788-1912* (Chicago, Cincinnati, 1912), 2:106.

the others seriously injured. In the panic which ensued eight jumped overboard and were drowned.⁷

More boats were burned, sunk, or wrecked, during the four months beginning December 15, 1865, than during any corresponding period of western river navigation. Leaving out of the account tow-boats, stone-boats, wharf-boats, barges, and the "mosquito fleet" of stern-wheelers, I have noted a total of seventy-four. Some of the boats which were sunk were raised again, but boats destroyed by fire were, as a rule, a total loss. There were twenty-nine steamboats destroyed by fire in sixteen weeks.⁸ There was little or no loss of life except in cases where the boat was destroyed by fire while under way.

⁷ *Louisville Democrat*, August 24, 1865.

⁸ The following table lists the boats destroyed, and notes newspaper accounts of the disasters.

December 16, 1865,	<i>Peerless</i> , value \$60,000, at mound City. <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> , December 16.
January 5, 1866,	<i>Eleanora Carroll</i> , \$125,000, Louisville. <i>Ibid.</i> , January 5.
January 9,	<i>Buenos Ayres</i> , in the Oomulgee river. <i>Ibid.</i> , January 18.
January 13,	<i>James Q. Christopher</i> , Savannah river. <i>Ibid.</i>
January 17,	<i>E. O. Stannard</i> , \$52,000, Ouachita river. <i>Ibid.</i>
January 28,	<i>Miami</i> , \$35,000, Mississippi river near mouth of Arkansas river. <i>Ibid.</i> , January 31, and February 2.
January 30,	<i>Missouri</i> , \$150,000, near Evansville, Indiana. <i>Ibid.</i> , January 31.
February 2,	<i>W. R. Carter</i> , \$126,000, 35 miles above Vicksburg. <i>Ibid.</i> , February 6. <i>Cincinnati Commercial</i> , February 4, 5.
February 3,	<i>Mary A. Bruner</i> , \$37,000, mouth of Red river. <i>Ibid.</i> , February 6.
February 5,	<i>General Halleck</i> , Memphis. <i>Ibid.</i>
February	<i>Lady Grace</i> . <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> , February 11.
February	<i>Elwood</i> , \$24,000, near Memphis. <i>Cincinnati Argus</i> , February 20.
February 23,	<i>Winchester</i> , \$80,000, near East Liverpool, Ohio. <i>Cincinnati Commercial</i> , February 24, 25; <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> , February 24, 27.
February 24,	<i>Nannie Beyers</i> , \$30,000, near Madison, Indiana. <i>Ibid.</i> , February 25, March 8.
February 26,	<i>Peytona</i> , \$115,000, <i>Luna</i> , \$130,000, <i>Leviathan</i> , \$150,000, and <i>Dictator</i> , \$160,000, at St. Louis. <i>St. Louis Republican</i> , February 27; <i>Cincinnati Commercial</i> , February 28.
February 27,	<i>Mary Hein</i> , \$30,000, Red river. <i>New Orleans Times</i> , March 4; <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> , March 7.
March 1,	<i>Diamond</i> , \$20,000. <i>Ibid.</i> , March 6.
March 4,	<i>R. J. Lockwood</i> , \$60,000, near Memphis. <i>Ibid.</i> , March 6, 7; <i>Cincinnati Commercial</i> , March 6.

A number of steamboat boiler explosions occurred in the summer and fall of 1865, which did not attract much attention as the loss of life was small. These prompted a conundrum, which appeared in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* of December 23, 1865: "Why is a husband like a Mississippi steamboat? Because he never knows when he may get a blowing up."

In mid-winter, 1866, the public was startled by reports of the destruction by fire of three large steamboats in close succession—the *Miami*, January 28, the *Missouri*, January 30, and the *W. R. Carter*, February 2. The fires were caused by boiler explosions at a time when most of the passengers and at least half the crews were sound asleep, and the loss of life was appalling. Reports varied, but the total was not far from 365 lives. The boilers on these boats, as well as those on the *Sultana*, were of the tubular type. Public opinion, as represented in the newspapers, was at first inclined to charge the officers and engineers of these boats with criminal carelessness; and popular opinion was confirmed in the case of the *Miami* by a finding of the local inspectors, that the engineers were to blame for proceeding on their voyage when they knew the boilers needed repairing and for permitting the steamboat to be listed in such a way as to make the water in the boilers fall below the upper tubes.⁹

The cause of the explosions on the *Missouri* and the *W. R. Carter* was still a mystery. Both belonged to the Atlantic and Mississippi steamship company, which had already lost four large passenger boats. The horrible suspicion that these six steamboats had been sacrificed for the sake of the insurance was happily refuted by the fact that this company had no insurance

⁹ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, February 6, 1866.

March 5,	<i>R. H. May</i> , \$10,000, Savannah river. <i>Augusta Constitutionalist</i> , March 8.
March 14,	<i>Covington No. 2</i> . (Ferry-boat), \$15,000, at Covington, Kentucky. <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> , March 14.
April 7,	<i>Nevada</i> , \$36,000, <i>Frank Bates</i> , \$60,000, <i>Fanny Ogden</i> , \$60,000, <i>Alex Majors</i> , \$25,000, and <i>Effie Deans</i> , \$30,000 at St. Louis. <i>St. Louis Republican</i> , April 8.
April 12,	<i>Financier</i> , \$50,000, near Pittsburg. <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> , April 14, 15.

There were 910 registered steamboats on western rivers reported in 1866, according to the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 20, 1866. The losses, during the four months noted, equaled nearly one-twelfth of the total registered.

on any of its boats. The company had concluded that it would be cheaper to replace a steamboat, which might be lost now and then, than to carry insurance on all of their large fleet, at the current high rates.¹⁰

To counteract still stronger suspicions that the engineers on these boats—and presumably on many others—were either incompetent or guilty of gross negligence, some novel theories were advanced. For instance, James B. Cook, an architect and civil engineer of Memphis, wrote to the *Memphis Appeal*, that he was “satisfied that the cause of the disasters is one over which the engineers and their subordinates . . . have no control. . . . that engineers are not to blame.” He then argues that a battery of boilers, when raising high pressure steam, generates electricity; that the boat is a receiver of this electricity insulated by the water under it and thus acts like an electrically charged Leyden-jar. He adds: “When the atmosphere is antagonistic or in a negative condition, and whenever the steam generates electricity and the atmosphere is in a negative condition, the explosion occurs”!¹¹ I don’t know that mere historians are expected fully to comprehend this theory. Mr. Cook kindly volunteered to give further information to anybody who felt an interest in the subject.

A Cincinnati attorney developed still another theory, in a suit brought against the owners of a steamboat by a passenger who had been severely injured by a boiler explosion. He argued, and produced “expert” evidence to show, that at certain seasons of the year the river water contains large quantities of vegetable and animal matter in solution which is nothing more nor less than glycerine, that glycerine in certain combinations forms one of the most violent explosives known, and that boilers full of glycerine are liable to explode at any moment—something which no steamboat owner, captain, or engineer, can foresee or provide against!

Steamboat owners and inspectors, and the public generally, came to a much more practical conclusion, i. e., that, however safe tubular boilers might be when supplied with soft water free

¹⁰ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, February 7, 28, 1866.

¹¹ Copied in the *Cincinnati Commercial*, February 11, 1866, and *Enquirer*, February 14, 1866.

from mud and impurities, and when stationary or in locomotives, which keep the track and run on an even keel, they were extra-hazardous on steamboats, which navigated muddy water and pumped this muddy water into their boilers. The very conditions which enabled tubular boilers to make steam rapidly, made it difficult to keep them free from muddy sediment and "scale," and weakened the resisting power of the outside shell.¹²

Newspaper editors and river reporters were outspoken in their condemnation of tubular boilers.¹³ Insurance agents refused to

¹² The local inspectors at Louisville published a communication about tubular boilers in which they said:

"The great and insuperable objection to the tubular boiler lies in the form of its construction. Those using them have thought it necessary in order to render them as perfect as possible, to fill almost the entire shell of the boiler with a number of small tubes of, in some instances, less than six inches diameter; and in many cases so close were these tubes together, that less than one inch of water space was left between them and the sides of the shell. . . . The blowers and escapements from the engine of the exhausted steam were turned into the chimneys and then the tubulars were found to work admirably and to generate steam with great rapidity; and everybody must have tubular boilers. But . . . the thin sheet of water within these boilers then became troublesome to manage . . . and no human watchfulness and skill could keep such boilers well, properly and safely supplied with water. So well was this feature of the working of these boilers known, that many of the best and most skillful of our engineers refused to go on boats which had them in at all. Indeed, there can be but little doubt that some of these late and terrible disasters that have happened are to be attributed to this cause alone. . . . Another and grave objection against the use of these boilers is found in the fact that, in order to obtain sufficient fire surface to generate steam, it was necessary to increase the size of the shell, and many of such boilers are in use at this time, or recently so, particularly in the ill-fated *Missouri* and *W. R. Carter*. The boilers of both these boats were forty-six inches in diameter, with nineteen six-inch flues, or return flues, each. Now in order to obtain the amount of pressure the owners of these boats required, it became necessary, under the law, to increase the thickness of the iron of which the shells were made. . . . The outer lap of the sheet, with such thick iron as was in either of these boats was so far away from the water, and becomes so heated with such a blast under them . . . that the tenacity of the iron is destroyed and the seams pull apart from the lengthwise pressure, and if it does not give way, must, at least, be at once repaired, and this process must be gone through almost at the end of every long voyage. . . . If men of the character and skill of Philips, of the *Missouri*, and Townsend, of the *Carter*, can not manage and control these boilers with safety to life and property, it is doubtful whether any one does possess the skill as an engineer that can do so." *Cincinnati Commercial*, February 11, 1866.

¹³ The *Cincinnati Enquirer* said, February 1, 1866, of the *Missouri*, "She had tubular boilers, and is another boat added to the long list of explosions from the use of these boilers." And February 6: "The belief has long been entertained by all

insure freight shipped on boats with tubular boilers. Shipping agents at Louisville were instructed not to reship any freight on boats which had tubular boilers. Passengers intending to travel by boat would inquire, before taking passage, whether the boat had tubular boilers and, if so, would take some other boat. Owners of steamboats with the old-fashioned flue boilers advertised the fact as a special reason for giving their boats the preference. Owners of used boilers of the double-flued type, for which they had no further use, seized the opportunity to advertise and sell them. The United States mail line company, operating boats between Cincinnati and Louisville, lost no time, and on February 5, 1866, withdrew the *United States*, a new boat with all the latest improvements, so as to take out the new tubular

practical engineers and mechanics that tubular boilers on our Western waters are unsafe and we have repeatedly called the attention of the public to it, but until very lately but little heed has been paid to the subject. Now, however, after so many fatal disasters have occurred in rapid succession, the public are aroused, as it appears that nearly all, if not every one, of the late disasters, were boats with tubular boilers. . . . The great objections urged against them were that they would get clogged with mud sediment and 'scale' that is made so freely in our muddy waters; also, that it is impossible to clean the boilers, an indisputable necessity on our rivers." And on February 9: "Many of our exchanges are out in strong terms against the carelessness which must be the cause of some of the many steamboat disasters which have occurred of late, and also against the use of tubular boilers, which have been proven by experience unsafe. We also unite our voice with those of our contemporaries in the general protest, for within the last week not less than three hundred mortals have perished miserably on the Mississippi, Ohio, and Arkansas Rivers, from the explosion of steam-boilers and the consequences resulting from these explosions. . . . These three explosions of the MISSOURI, the MIAMI and the CARTER, all having tubular boilers, ought to be decisive against this form of generating steam, if experience is of any value in scientific mechanics." The *Cincinnati Commercial* said, February 5: "The tubular boiler has been used in a great many new boats. Its supposed advantages are found in the fact that the tubes are smaller than flues, and more of them are put in the boiler, to carry the fire through, thus presenting a greater surface and producing steam more rapidly than in the old way. . . . The great number of them put in a boiler makes it extremely difficult to keep clean when, as is usually the case in Western rivers, the water is muddy. . . . The head of the boiler presents a large surface to the steam. The boilers of the MISSOURI were forty-six inches in diameter, and contained twenty-one tubes, each six inches in diameter, weakened by twenty-one six-inch holes, imperfectly supported by the tubing, and subjected to a pressure of one hundred and fifty pounds per square inch. It is easy to see that after the frequent expansion and contraction of boiler heads and tubes, unless the job was perfect and the iron of extreme tenacity, the pressure would overcome the resistance and that is just what happened."

boilers and replace them with old-style flue boilers. On February 10, 1866, the company inserted, as a part of its standing advertisement in Cincinnati and Louisville papers, this line: "The Superb and Swift Passenger Steamers, all of which are provided with double-flue boilers," which was continued throughout the year. The Atlantic and Mississippi steamship company, which had now lost six of its largest and finest steamboats, discarded the tubular boilers and sent to St. Louis a number of its boats to be supplied with old-style flue boilers. But fate was relentless, and on February 26, 1866, three of its best remaining boats—*Peytona*, *Luna*, and *Leviathan*—were destroyed by fire while lying at the St. Louis levee.¹⁴

At last the unfortunate company was persuaded to insure the balance of its steamboat stock.¹⁵ Other boats withdrawn from service to have tubular boilers taken out and flue boilers inserted were *Wild Wagoner*, *St. Nicholas*, *Bermuda*, *Lady Gay*, *Nick Longworth*, *Linnie Drown*, *St. Charles*, and *W. F. Carter*.¹⁶ And during all this winter of disasters caused by boiler explosions and fire, *Bostona No. 3*, running between Cincinnati and Portsmouth, had a standing notice in the Cincinnati papers in which the following sentence occurs: "*This steamer is provided with a magazine for the transportation of powder.*"¹⁷ It must have been very reassuring to persons who were afraid to ride on a boat equipped with tubular boilers, to find that they could ride on one that only carried a powder magazine! Other steamboats may have carried powder in those days, and probably did, but they were silent about it.

Next to fire, the most destructive force in operation during the winter of 1865-1866 was ice. The upper Mississippi river was frozen over early in December and heavy ice gorges were formed above and below St. Louis. They gave way on December 16 and moved down with terrible and irresistible power, crushing like egg shells seven steamboats—*New Admiral*, *Old*

¹⁴ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, February 6, 7, 8, 9, 15, 17; March 1, 7, 8, 10, 24; April 1, 7, 8, 17; *Cincinnati Commercial*, February 10-12, 17-23, 27, 28; *St. Louis Republican*, February 27, 28.

¹⁵ *St. Louis Republican*, quoted in *Cincinnati Enquirer*, April 3.

¹⁶ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, February 7, 9, 15, 18, 22; March 10, 20; April 1, 11.

¹⁷ This sentence is not italicized in the original.

Sioux City, Empire City, Calypso, Highlander, Geneva, and Metropolitan, which were valued at \$185,000. Again, early in January, 1866, the ice on the Mississippi gorged above and below St. Louis, and steamers lying at the levee were in peril. The first break came on January 12, and in this movement, seven more steamboats—*Belle Memphis, John Trendley, Prairie Rose, Julia, Warsaw, Underwriter No. 8, and Omaha*—valued at \$185,000, were crushed, or carried off and sunk below the city. The next day the ice moved again and caught and crushed seven more steamboats—*Nebraska, City of Pekin, Hattie May, Diodem, Viola Belle, Reserve, and Rosalie*—valued at \$232,000. The superstitious accounted for the loss of the *Rosalie*, by the fact that it was launched on Friday, always sailed on Friday, and, of course, was sunk on Friday. But this did not account for the loss of thirteen other vessels in the same catastrophe.¹⁸

To this wholesale destruction of boats by ice, must be added the sinking of the *Pine Grove*, at Buffington, Ohio, in January, 1866, the *U. S. Grant* in the Missouri river, near Plattsmouth, March 18, 1866, and the *Northern Light* in the Mississippi near LaCrosse, April 12, 1866.¹⁹

Among the unseen perils of river navigation are the rocks which are brought into the steamers' course by a shifting of the channel, the wrecks of sunken steamboats and barges, and snags and sawyers—fallen trees which finally become fixed in the bed of the river and stretch out greedy fingers to snatch the frail craft coming towards them. All are unseen, because our western river water is nearly opaque at a navigable stage. The rocks were dangerous chiefly in the upper Mississippi and Ohio rivers and their tributaries. Wrecks might be encountered anywhere. Snags and sawyers infested the lower Mississippi and its tributaries. It was reported that fifty-four steamboats were sunk in the Red river alone between June, 1865, and March, 1866.²⁰

The casualties from unseen perils, during the four months on

¹⁸ *St. Louis Democrat*, December 17, 1865; *St. Louis Republican*, January 13, 14, 15, 1866; *Cincinnati Commercial*, January 13; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 13, 17.

¹⁹ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, March 21, 30; April 13, 18; *Dubuque Herald*, April 13.

²⁰ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, March 18, 1866.

which we have concentrated our attention, numbered twenty-one.²¹ Many boats were raised and the loss was seldom total. Passengers generally escaped uninjured and cargoes were saved, though more or less damaged. The list (note 21) is probably far from complete, as news of these lower river accidents was slow in coming and many of the boats were considered of too small importance to report.

While this disastrous four months period has never again been equaled, there were enough losses—some of them highly sensational—during the next ten years to establish the conviction that steamboat traffic is extra hazardous. The insurance on boats and freight rose rapidly to twelve, fifteen, and even twenty per cent; and, even at those figures, insurance companies either

²¹ Following is a list of the boats destroyed, and of newspaper notices of the disasters:

December 15, 1865,	<i>Darling</i> , Plum Point. <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> , December 17, 1865.
December 30,	<i>Huntress</i> \$15,000, Alexandria, Louisiana. <i>Ibid.</i> , January 13, 1866.
January 3, 1866,	<i>Minnie</i> , \$40,000, near Cairo. <i>Ibid.</i> , January 4.
January 3,	<i>Hazel Dell</i> , Black's bluff, Ohio. <i>Ibid.</i> , January 13.
January	<i>Etna</i> , Red river. <i>Ibid.</i>
January	<i>Goldena</i> , \$20,000, <i>Cincinnati Commercial</i> , January.
January 10,	<i>Trenton</i> , Ouachita river.
January	<i>Ida May</i> , Loggy bayou. <i>True Delta</i> (New Orleans), January 17.
January 17,	<i>Sherman</i> , \$40,000, Paducah. <i>Cincinnati Commercial</i> , January 18.
January	<i>Agnes</i> , Arkansas river. <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> , January 21.
January 18,	<i>Dora Martin</i> , Red river. <i>Ibid.</i> , January 27, February 2.
January	<i>Anna Surratt</i> , Red river. <i>Ibid.</i> , January 30.
February 5,	<i>St. Nicholas</i> , Bigbee river. <i>Ibid.</i> , February 9, 11.
February 8,	<i>Lizzie Tate</i> , Grand bayou, <i>Ibid.</i> , February 9.
February	<i>Catawba</i> , Jacksonport. <i>Ibid.</i> , February 13.
February 6,	<i>Fleta</i> , Campte. <i>Ibid.</i> , February 13, March 20.
February 12,	<i>Golden Era</i> , near Guyandotte, West Virginia. <i>Ibid.</i> , February 15, 20, March 20.
February 16,	<i>Amazon</i> , near Augusta, Georgia. <i>Ibid.</i> , February 17.
February 21,	<i>Madison</i> , \$20,000, Louisville. <i>Cincinnati Commercial</i> , February 22.
February 21,	<i>Henry Ames</i> , \$125,000, near Memphis. <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> , February 22.
February 23,	<i>Sam Gaty</i> , \$60,000, Mississippi river above Cairo. <i>Cincinnati Commercial</i> , February 24; <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> , February 25.

voluntarily retired from marine insurance business or were bankrupted by their heavy losses in that line. Out of thirty-six companies engaged in the insurance business in Cincinnati, in the sixties, but one remains today.

In 1865-1866, the arrivals and departures of steamboats from Cincinnati averaged more than ten a day, excluding Sundays.²² This meant, of course, many more than ten a day during the eight months favorable for navigation. The river front was lined for several blocks with handsome passenger steamers; and they were well patronized until tourists were admonished that a river trip was equivalent to an attempt at suicide. Large parties used to be formed to make the round trip to New Orleans and back in some favored steamboat, especially about the time of *Mardi gras*. It grew more and more difficult to make up such parties, and I cannot remember any large excursion of that sort since 1875.

It is doubtful whether other than purely local passenger travel on such boats can ever be revived. This is much to be regretted, for the scenery on the upper Mississippi and on the Ohio from Pittsburgh down is most pleasing, and would afford much enjoyment.

The only hope for such revival rests in the possibility of constructing cabins and staterooms of non-inflammable material, which at the same time is as light as the old wooden superstructure. Aluminum, or some of its amalgams, may be used for such purpose some day, combining lightness and beauty with safety.

Our rivers can, and ought to, be used for the transportation of heavy freight, coal, iron, and so forth; for the long haul can undoubtedly be made much more cheaply by steamboat than by rail. But for such traffic the tow-boat and accompanying barges are the best carriers.

WILLIAM C. COCHRAN

CINCINNATI, OHIO

²² Goss, *Cincinnati, the queen city*, 2: 106-107.

DR. JOSIAH GREGG
HISTORIAN OF THE OLD SANTA FÉ TRAIL

The efforts of Americans to trade with the Spanish settlements in New Mexico were mainly unsuccessful prior to the establishment of Mexican independence in 1821. Pike the explorer, Purcell, McKnight, Baird, Chambers, Chouteau, DeMunn, and the other pioneers in that trade met with rough treatment at the hands of the Spaniards on the Rio Grande. Beginning with the successful venture of William Becknell of Missouri, in 1822, there was a period of some twenty years in which this trade was prosperous and profitable. The character of the trade changed after the war with Mexico, for then those provinces became part of the American union. It is doubtful if there was ever anywhere developed a more interesting and romantic commerce than that across the prairies and great plains over the old Santa Fé trail. The account of it makes one of the best chapters in the annals of the west. The men who founded and profited by this unique trade were American pioneers in the country of upper Louisiana after the great purchase. And these were in the main descended from those hardy woodsmen of the back settlements of Virginia and North Carolina who had rescued the Ohio valley country from savagery with little aid or encouragement from their mother communities. The daring, the bold and reckless courage, the initiative, the intrepidity of character resulting from this western advance and conquest, constitute a rich heritage of American civilization.

Among the men who achieved a place in history in connection with the old Santa Fé trail, none reached higher distinction than that attained by Dr. Josiah Gregg. He was a trader over the old trail for many years, and he became the recognized historian of the entire movement. His *Commerce of the prairies* is one of the accepted authorities on American history. He tells us that he was an invalid, and it was principally on that account that he betook himself to the prairies and plains, though his

father and at least one of his brothers "traded to Santa Fé" before he adventured forth on the old trail. He crossed the plains westward eight times while engaged in the Santa Fé trade, and he was in Mexico with Doniphan. In 1849 he crossed the plains and mountains to California.

In the year 1906 I began to put in form the material which I had gathered for my edition of *Doniphan's expedition*. Dr. R. G. Thwaites had then but recently edited and published the *Early western travels*. Dr. Gregg's work was included in that invaluable series. It occurred to me that I might secure from Dr. Thwaites material for a brief sketch of the life of Dr. Gregg, though I had observed that nothing of consequence concerning him had been set out in the preliminary remarks to *Commerce of the prairies*. Dr. Thwaites wrote me that he had been unable to find much on that subject. "I spent a great deal of time looking up just such data regarding Gregg as you ask for, for the purpose of my own preface, and failed to get anything more than I gave," he said. Later in conversation with me at the meeting of this association at Omaha, he spoke very favorably of my *Doniphan*. "I read it with interest and pleasure," he told me. "You have rediscovered Gregg. The information which you secured is of the utmost importance. It is a notable contribution to western history. Until I read it I could not have said whether Gregg was born in America or Scotland."

As it had been necessary for me to know more of Dr. Gregg than I could learn from published works, I began to make inquiry of the veterans of the Mexican war who had followed Doniphan. They all remembered Dr. Gregg, but none of those consulted could tell me anything of his ancestry or family. As a last resort I appealed to the honorable D. C. Allen, of Liberty, Missouri. No other man ever knew so much of the history of western Missouri as does Mr. Allen. I went to Liberty to see him. In an hour he had put me in possession of sources of material which yielded much. And these pointed the way for more. I will set down here the substance of what I have learned of Dr. Josiah Gregg.

The founder of the Gregg family in America was William Gregg, an Ulster-Scot (Scotch-Irish) immigrant, who arrived from north Ireland in the province of Pennsylvania about 1682.

He was of a Quaker family, and was among the earliest people of that faith in the colony established by William Penn. William Gregg had a son John, who had a son William. This William Gregg had a son Jacob, who made more than one trip from Philadelphia (or its vicinity) to the Quaker settlement at Cane creek, North Carolina, to acquaint himself with the resources and physical appearance of that country. He found these satisfactory, and he finally moved to North Carolina, settling near Cane creek. He lived there until most of his children were grown up, when he moved to Arkansas; but neither the date of his removal nor to what point in the latter state he went can now be ascertained. There is some evidence that the locality was in the vicinity of Fort Smith. Dr. Josiah Gregg went to live for a time at Van Buren, and some of his relatives told me they understood that they had "kinfolks" near that town, although they had never been in communication with them.

Of the three children of Jacob Gregg whom I have been able to identify with certainty—Harmon, William, and David—one at least, Harmon, married a Pennsylvania German woman. She was a Miss Susannah Schmelzer, or Smelser, as it was written later. This marriage was in Pennsylvania, and was contracted before the removal of the Gregg family to Cane creek, North Carolina. Harmon Gregg moved from Cane creek to what is now Overton county, Tennessee, where he settled on Elk river (or creek). His brothers, William and David, had already settled in Overton county. William had moved to Madison county, Kentucky, before the arrival of his brother Harmon in Overton county. There he married the daughter of Jesse Cox. He and his father-in-law moved to some point in Illinois, probably Vermilion county, though this is not established. Nor is the date of removal fixed.

In 1809 Harmon Gregg moved from Overton county to Illinois. David Gregg either went with him or had preceded him. Some of the family say that David had also gone to Madison county, Kentucky, and from there to Illinois with his brother William. In any event, the three brothers were reunited in Illinois. The date of the removal of Harmon Gregg and his brothers from Illinois to Missouri is given as 1812. Jesse Cox was one of the men in Colonel Benjamin Cooper's company

of one hundred and fifty families that emigrated to Missouri, stopping first at Loutre Island, then settling in the Booneslick country, in what is now Howard county. It may have been that the Greggs came from Illinois with Cox, and that they joined the Kentucky company and remained with it until the settlement of Cooper's Fort, but the family could not furnish any proof of this. It is claimed by the family that these brothers were inmates of Cooper's Fort from 1812 to 1815. There is reason to believe that this cannot be wholly true; for Jesse Cox, in 1814, was living in Cox's Bottom, in what is now Saline county, which is immediately west across the Missouri from Howard county. During Christmas week of that year his settlement was attacked by Sac and Fox Indians. William Gregg was slain there by these Indians and his daughter, Miss Patsy Gregg, carried off a captive, but she was rescued before the savages reached their towns. The settlement was destroyed. William Gregg was evidently a member of this settlement and lived there with his family at the time, and was not living in Cooper's Fort.

I have not investigated the family of William Gregg beyond the incidents here recorded. I have made no effort to trace the family of David Gregg. The record of the family of Harmon Gregg is fairly complete and accessible. I found the family bible of Harmon Gregg in the possession of Mrs. Mary Loughrey, wife of Andrew Loughrey and daughter of Philip Allan Hardwicke and his wife Margaret Gregg, four miles north of Harlem, in Clay county, Missouri. The record in this bible states the date of birth of Harmon Gregg as February 21, 1774; he died in Jackson county, Missouri, August 10, 1844. His wife, Susannah Smelser, was born on September 17, 1774, and died in Clay county, Missouri, June 23, 1857. The record also says that she was born and married in Pennsylvania. And this bible has also the following record of the births of the children of Harmon Gregg and Susannah, his wife.

David Gregg, born October 28, 1797.

John Gregg, born April 25, 1800.

Jacob Gregg, born April 9, 1802.

[Margaret] Gregg, born July 31, 1804. (Called Peggy in record)

Josiah Gregg, born July 19, 1806.

Polly Gregg, born January 19, 1813.

Harmon Gregg, born December 20, 1815. (Harmon Gregg, Jun., in record)

Susan Gregg, born Dec. 13, 1818.

The following record also appears in this bible:

Marriages of the children of Harmon Gregg and Susannah Smelser.

David Gregg was married to Nancy Adams, August 8, 1818.

Peggy Gregg was married to Philip Allan Hardwicke, October 9, 1821.

Polly Gregg was married to James Lewis, November 6, 1827.

Jacob Gregg was married to Nancy Lewis, March 14, 1828.

John Gregg was married to Martha Eliza McClellan, November 25, 1835.

Susan Gregg was married to John McClellan, August 15, 1838.

Harmon Gregg, Jr., was married to Nancy Shortridge, March 10, 1842.

Josiah Gregg was never married. Of him, I summarize what has been said herein to this point. He became a Santa Fé trader and the author of *Commerce of the prairies*. He was born in Overton county, Tennessee, July 19, 1806. He arrived with his parents in Missouri in 1812. He was an inmate of Cooper's Fort, Howard county, from 1812 to 1815. These facts are fully established.

Harmon Gregg remained in the country about Cooper's Fort some ten years after the close of the war of 1812. In the fall of 1825 he moved with his family to what was known as the Blue river country, and settled four and one-half miles north-east of the present town of Independence, Jackson county, Missouri. Independence was not established until 1827. Harmon Gregg erected a house at the point mentioned, which was yet standing in 1906; he died there on the date already given. That house was the home of Josiah Gregg. It was a story-and-a-half log house, which was weatherboarded long after it was built, and was a typical frontier dwelling as modified for use after the frontier had passed.

Thus, I find that Josiah Gregg was of the sixth generation of a pioneer family founded by a hardy Scotch-Irish immigrant in the primeval forests of the Appalachians. This family kept steadily in the van of the westward movement of the American people to subdue and occupy the wilderness—then the most

fascinating land on the globe. And this experience, together with the fruits of it, found concentration in Josiah Gregg, the source of that faith in himself, that reliance on his own powers, that confidence in his own ability, that courage and hardihood of mind, which made him a great American. His achievement is but another incident in the great movement from Missouri, by Missourians either native or adopted, to complete in the American settlement of California, the girdle of civilization westward around the world.

Josiah Gregg, as a child and youth, was of delicate health. In the vernacular of the frontier, he was a "weakly" child. He worked at will at the labor always present and pressing on the farm—especially the frontier farm. He was not expected to go out at the break of day and work until dark, as was the pioneer practice. He might do this if he wished, but his mother often restrained him and kept him at the house. There he read every book and paper he could lay hands on. He was dosed with frontier remedies, principally "bitters"—whiskey in which were black snakeroot, sarsaparilla roots, dock roots, dogwood and wild cherry barks, and often the gum of the black pine. In those days the weaker boys were expected to become preachers, lawyers, doctors, or storekeepers. Josiah Gregg chose for his life work the medical profession, and his family provided the funds necessary to fit him for it. He was sent to a medical college in Philadelphia, and from that institution he graduated with honors. I have made no effort beyond inquiries of the members of present Gregg families to ascertain the name of this college. They were unable to give the name or fix the dates of his attendance there, though it was affirmed that he was in Philadelphia four or five years. He must have applied himself with diligence to his studies and have included others than those pertaining to medicine, for he had many additional accomplishments, as may be perceived from his writings.

Only one incident was I able to recover from his student life. On one occasion he was seized of a serious malady. Neither his associates nor his instructors could discover the nature of it, even though it had carried him to death's door. When told that he had little longer to live he asked for a hot whiskey

toddy. "If I am to die anyhow, this dram will do me no harm," he said. And so thought his attendants. Within an hour after the toddy was given him, he was thickly "broken out" with measles; and his recovery was rapid and complete.

After his graduation Gregg returned to Jackson county and began the practice of his profession. In this he continued two or three years and until his health began to decline. He supposed he was the victim of tuberculosis—"consumption," as it was then called. His strength fell to so low an ebb that he could not mount his horse without assistance. This was in the winter of 1830-1831. There were many instances known to the people of Jackson county where a voyage across the plains with the traders had been of the greatest benefit to persons so afflicted. Independence was at that time the headquarters of the Santa Fé trade. The caravans started to Santa Fé from that point. Gregg's father had been a member of William Becknell's expedition from Arrow Rock in the year 1822—the first in which wagons were taken to Santa Fé in this commerce. So, being familiar with the nature and financial contingencies of the trade, Gregg engaged in it himself. His caravan set out from Independence on the fifteenth day of May, 1831. His life for the next ten years may be read in his matchless work on that period and those times. There is one curious incident he does not mention. It was furnished me by the late lamented and brilliant Miss Mary Louise Dalton, secretary of the Missouri historical society, though I had heard some previous mention of it from members of the Gregg family.

On one of his many trips to Santa Fé he was employed by a priest to build a clock in the tower of his church, the contract price for which was \$1,000. Mr. Gregg, however, finished the work in much less time than was anticipated by the priest, and he refused to pay more than \$700.

When building the clock Mr. Gregg placed in it the image of a little negro, which, when the clock would strike, would come outside and dance. Some months after Mr. Gregg's return to the United States he received a letter from the priest stating that the little negro had ceased to perform his mission, and if he would return and repair it he would pay him the remainder of his money according to the original contract, \$300. The following spring Mr. Gregg returned to Santa Fé and repaired the clock; and, on inquiry, he learned that the priest's flock had

told him the reason the negro would not come out and dance as before, was because he had not paid the full price agreed upon. Mr. Gregg got his \$300 and heard no more of the clock.

Dr. Gregg was not a soldier in the war with Mexico but was a correspondent for newspapers. The names of these papers have not been ascertained. Perhaps those at New Orleans were among them, but this is not confirmed. He was with General Taylor's army. He accompanied a force sent by Taylor to Colonel Doniphan at Chihuahua, and he returned with Colonel Doniphan to the sea. Meredith T. Moore of the Cole county company, Doniphan's expedition, a man of the highest character, saw Gregg almost daily on the march from Chihuahua. He gave me the account of this incident.

The weather was extremely warm the day the army marched out of Chihuahua, and when the sand-wastes were reached it was scorching. Gregg was never physically a strong man, and at that time his health was poor. He raised a red silk umbrella to protect himself from the intense heat. At that time he was near the rear of the line. The soldiers were always on the lookout for something to furnish them diversion and amusement. They all knew Dr. Gregg, and upon sight of his red umbrella they began to cheer and make such remarks as men in their situation will. It was all good-naturedly meant, but he rode hurriedly down the line to escape it, which caused the efforts of the men to be redoubled. Gregg reached the position of Colonel Doniphan in no good humor, believing that the men knew him well enough to realize that in even fair health he would rough it with any of them. He complained to Doniphan, but a few words from the colonel restored his equanimity.

After the close of the war with Mexico Dr. Gregg probably returned to his home in Missouri; for in 1849 he went to California, as did every other Missourian who could possibly get there. William H. Gregg, of Jackson county, Missouri, told me that he understood that his uncle Josiah went to California from New Orleans, crossing the Isthmus of Panama. But that he could have done this, I think improbable. There is nothing very certain, however, as to the route taken by Dr. Gregg. The members of the Gregg family consulted, with the above exception, believed he went overland. The particulars of that journey over grassy stretches, up and over barren ranges, down rocky valleys, over plains above which whirled clouds of choking,

blistering alkali, across the Sierras and down the golden streams to the western sea, are now known to none.

The date of Dr. Gregg's arrival in California has not been found. He was at San Francisco. There he met Jesse Sutton, whom he must have previously known; for from him he borrowed some money with which to make a tour of the Trinity river country. The object of this tour is not exactly known, and its nature is uncertain. His brother-in-law, Mr. Hardwicke, had left Missouri in search of him when the intelligence of his death was received. Writing home from Smith's trading house, California, September 21, 1850, he said: "I saw one man who said that he saw him on Trinity river two or three hundred miles north of this, last winter, and that he was doing some business for the Government. I think this most likely."

The cause of the journey of Mr. Hardwicke to California to search for Dr. Gregg is found in a letter written him by John Gregg from Shreveport, Louisiana, May 16, 1850. In that letter John Gregg says: "The last letter I had from him [Dr. Gregg] was dated Trinity River, some 400 miles north of San Francisco." All this is indefinite as to location as well as purpose. From an article prepared with care by L. K. Wood for the *Humboldt Times*, in 1856, we know that Dr. Gregg was at Rich Bar in October, 1849. This point must have been in what is now Trinity county, but it does not appear on any map which I have consulted. There were some forty persons there at that time. They were from all quarters, and chief among them was Dr. Gregg. The supplies at this camp were insufficient for the number of men quartered there for the winter, and there was no hope of getting in anything more, as the rainy season had come on with great violence, and the mountain passes were filled with snow. Information which they had secured from the Indians was to the effect that to the west a distance of not more than eight days of travel was the ocean, together with a beautiful bay surrounded by fine and extensive prairie lands. It was decided that the whole company then at Rich Bar should go to this bay. It was raining torrents in the lowlands and snowing on the mountains. The object of this journey to the coast was to discover some suitable place there for a city, which was to be the port for the northwestern portion of California. The

mines, or placers, on the Trinity river had been discovered in the spring of 1849. It soon developed that these diggings were very rich. The supplies for these placers came by way of Sacramento, and at that time boats did not go beyond that city. These supplies for the Trinity river placers had to be freighted by team from Sacramento. There had not been, in October, 1849, time to organize an adequate freight service for that region, and the rate was one dollar per pound. The miners on the Trinity knew they were at no great distance from the Pacific ocean. If a city could be founded there which would become a port for the rich placers not only would it prove of great benefit to the country, but fortunes might be made by the sale of town lots. This project had been under discussion for some time, and had been the cause of the inquiries made of the Indians concerning the country to the westward and the distance to the ocean. It was fully determined that a seaport for the northern mines must be established. That there should be no failure of the enterprise, two exploring parties were formed. One was to go overland directly west. The other was sent by way of San Francisco, from which point it went by water. This party founded Klamath City.

Dr. Gregg was made the leader of the overland party by common consent. He had with him his astronomical instruments and was in all respects qualified for the leadership of such a party. But when the time for departure arrived most of the company faltered, and only eight finally made the start—Dr. Josiah Gregg, captain, from Missouri; Thomas Seabring, Ottawa, Illinois; David A. Buck, of New York; J. B. Truesdell, of Oregon; ——— Van Duzen; Charles C. Southard, of Boston; Isaac Wilson, of Missouri; and L. K. Wood, of Mason county, Kentucky.

This party, mounted, left Rich Bar on the fifth of November, 1849. It was poorly supplied with food and other equipment, and the rain and snow were enough to appall the most intrepid. These men, however, slowly made their way westward. They crossed the South Trinity at its junction with the main stream. On the thirteenth of November their provisions were entirely exhausted, and hunting had to be relied on for food from that date. When they reached the giant redwoods near the coast,

bad feeling, engendered more from hardships experienced than from any other cause, developed among the members of the company. Dr. Gregg was answered with shameful abuse when he requested assistance in making measurements and observations. On the seventh of December they arrived at Trinidad head, which they named Gregg's point. They soon turned south. The party was completely disrupted. While its members continued together and went in the same direction, it was each man for himself and opposed to every other man. Before coming to Mad river, a degree of harmony had been restored. Canoes were secured from Indians for making the crossing of that stream. Dr. Gregg wished to determine the latitude of the mouth of the river, and set about doing this. The others would not wait for him. While he was at work, thinking they would not desert him, they pushed into the stream, and he was compelled to gather up his instruments hastily and wade out to the canoes to avoid being left to perish. Speaking of this incident in later years, one of the party said:

His cup of wrath was now filled to the brim; but he remained silent until the opposite shore was gained, when he opened upon us a perfect battery of the most withering and violent abuse. Several times during the ebullition of the old man's passion he indulged in such insulting language and comparisons, that some of the party, at best not any too amiable in their dispositions, came very near inflicting upon him summary punishment by consigning him, instruments and all, to the beautiful river. Fortunately for the old gentleman, pacific councils prevailed, and we were soon ready and off again. This stream, in commemoration of the difficulty I have just related, we called Mad river.

The party continued south. On the twenty-ninth of December, 1849, Humboldt bay was discovered, but these men called it Trinity bay. It is not the intention to claim here that Dr. Gregg made the original discovery of Humboldt bay. But the assertion of Bancroft to the contrary, based on the authority he cites, is not sufficient ground for depriving Dr. Gregg of that honor. And here was the point where the city and port for the rich gold diggings of northwestern California would have been then founded had the men making the discovery been in condition to take advantage of the results of their fearful journey. They had come to the logical location and found it an ideal site

for their contemplated emporium. But their condition and their dissensions made it impossible for them to accomplish the purpose for which they had suffered so much. They thought only of reaching the settlements, and planned to go on to San Francisco. Near the junction of Van Duzen's fork with Eel river, the men separated into two parties. Seabring, Buck, Wilson, and Wood left the camp after harsh words had passed. They almost perished and Wood was mutilated in an encounter with grizzly bears. On the seventeenth day of February, 1850, they reached the ranch of Mrs. Mark West, about thirty miles from the town of Sonoma, where they remained until spring.

Dr. Gregg, Van Duzen, Southard, and Truesdell, continued for a time to struggle forward along the coast in the direction of San Francisco. They became so enfeebled as to be unequal to the difficulties they encountered, and turned eastward about latitude thirty-nine degrees and thirty-six minutes, hoping to reach the valley of Sacramento. Dr. Gregg grew weaker daily after the separation, and the other members of his party came near perishing. One day on the margin of a lake which they had reached, Dr. Gregg fell unconscious from his horse. He never again uttered a word, though he lived for several hours. It was on February 25, 1850, on the shores of Clear lake, in what is now Lake county, California, that Dr. Josiah Gregg died from hardship, exposure, and starvation—principally from starvation.

Dr. Gregg was constantly referred to by his associates in this exploration as an old man. He must have been gray and have borne the appearance of an old man. His strenuous life and his naturally frail constitution combined to make him old beyond his years, for he was not an old man. He should have been in the prime of life at that time, for he was only in his forty-fourth year.

In Schoolcraft's *Indian tribes*, there is the "Journal of the expedition of Colonel Redick M'Kee, United States Indian agent, through northwestern California. Performed in the summer and fall of 1851."¹ Thomas Seabring was the guide of

¹ H. R. Schoolcraft, *Information respecting the history, condition, and prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States: collected and prepared under the direction of the bureau of Indian affairs per act of congress of March 3rd, 1847* (Philadelphia, 1851-1857), 3:99-177. The journal was kept by George Gibbs.

this expedition. He told Colonel M'Kee that Dr. Gregg and his party left the coast with the intention of reaching Napa valley, and that the lake had been passed when Dr. Gregg died. Seabring must have obtained this information from some one of the three men who went with Dr. Gregg when the main party finally separated, for he was with the party which went up Eel river.

It was the impression of scholars and scientists on the Pacific coast that the observations made by Dr. Gregg on the expedition were of great value and that the minutes and notes of them were full and complete. Colonel M'Kee expressed regret that they had not been published. Their fate is unknown. Dr. Gregg may have had a presentiment that he would never return from this journey to the Trinity river country. The last letter he wrote to Jesse Sutton directed him (Sutton) to take charge of his effects and turn them over to his brother, John Gregg, in case he lost his life. Sutton, in compliance, did send John Gregg the "memoranda or Journal," together with the last letter received by him. As to what this journal was, there is no information. It would seem that it was the record of his observations made on this California expedition. Inquiry made by letter to Shreveport never brought any response whatever. What finally became of the record is not known.

So far as practical utility is concerned, the discovery of Humboldt bay by Dr. Gregg's party was its real discovery. The next spring it became generally known that this exploration had been made. Settlers went in by land and sea. A city was founded on this bay. A steel engraving of it may be found in Schoolcraft,² where it is shown as having ten houses. Other towns were laid out, and all the region round about was explored, the mines developed, and the country settled. So Dr. Gregg left a lasting monument to himself in California. He was moved to his work there by his active interest in the new country. He undoubtedly looked far beyond the gold that was being taken from the streams. He was certain that agriculture and commercial development would follow. His work was devoted to defining the lines of the great commonwealth which he saw, in the future, rising upon that coast. As a wider knowledge

² Schoolcraft, *Indian tribes*, 3: 130.

of the man and of what he accomplished prevails in that land, the labors and sacrifices of Dr. Josiah Gregg will have full recognition and appreciation in California.

I wish to close this paper with a few general remarks on Dr. Gregg and his writings.

Dr. Gregg's book was published first in New York, in 1844. The full title is as follows: *Commerce of the prairies, or the journal of a Santa Fé trader, during eight expeditions across the great western prairies, and a residence of nearly nine years in northern Mexico.* The great worth of the work was recognized at once. It became the authority on all subjects of which it treated; and not only has it retained the high place it immediately won, but its value has increased with a more extensive knowledge of its times. Much of the history of western Missouri, Kansas, New Mexico, northern Mexico, north Texas, and the entire territory embraced in the new state of Oklahoma, must finally rest upon the great work of Dr. Gregg. It embraces accounts of the Indian tribes inhabiting that vast country, accounts which have stood the tests of the scientists of our own times. It contains acute delineations of the traits and characteristics of the Mexican people. It gave the first accurate statement of the geographical conformation of the country, the true course of its streams, the wild animals it contained, and its natural resources. The state of Oklahoma will need little better descriptions of its vast gypsum-beds than can be found in the pages of this book; and its salt deposits were carefully examined and adequately described. Dr. Gregg was the first to note the diminishing numbers of the buffalo, and he predicted their final extermination at no distant day. All this is beautifully told. His diction is masterful; his style is simple, chaste, elegant, pleasing, and sometimes eloquent. His descriptions are complete and full, and never tedious. The whole work is dignified and scholarly. The map which he drew for his book was pronounced by Dr. Elliott Coues (the highest authority) the best of its time. Upon its publication the book was immediately recognized as a masterpiece, and that verdict will ever stand.

Dr. Gregg was a merchant, with his own money invested in competition with many others who were engaged in the same business. He sought new fields for his enterprises; he explored

countries and laid out new routes over which to carry on his trade. He held his own against the Mexicans, who were bent on despoiling him; and when they sent troops to compel him to return to a town upon one occasion, he was confident of his ability to defeat them with only his servants. He chose to return, however, and he faced the authorities with such resolute bearing that he was suffered to depart with their apologies. His fearlessness is the prominent characteristic of all his intercourse with the Mexicans and Indians; and the accounts of his adventures with the latter, had he preserved them, would fill volumes. In his conflicts with them he never quailed, never gave an inch, but stood his ground determined and grim as death. His iron will is typical of that unconquerable spirit that carried American conquest to the Pacific ocean.

Exactly where his body rests we may never know. He lies within the bounds of that great state, which, more than all others, his Missouri fellow-citizens turned upside down to fill the world with gold. And this honor she has forgotten. His monument he built with his own hands, but other pillars will be raised to his memory in many states by his grateful countrymen. The one to tower in California will be high. But that erected by Missouri should overtop them all.

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THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MIAMI AND ERIE CANAL

The combined artificial channel known as the Miami and Erie canal, when constructed, traversed fifteen of the eighty-eight counties of the state of Ohio, its northern termination being in Maumee bay, Lake Erie, at Toledo, and its southern terminus in the Ohio river, at the mouth of Deer creek, within the limits of Cincinnati. Until 1849 it was known as three distinct bodies of construction and designated by various names: (1) Its southern portion, from Cincinnati to Dayton, a distance of sixty-seven miles, is referred to in the public records as "the Miami canal" and was the first part of the line to be constructed. It was started in 1825 and finished three years later. (2) The middle portion was designated "the extension of the Miami canal" and was that part of the line which extended from Dayton to its intersection with the Wabash and Erie canal, about eight miles west of Defiance. The distance from Dayton to the intersection was about 113 miles, exclusive of the Sidney feeder, which was fourteen miles long.¹ This was the second unit of the line to be begun and the last to be finished, construction lasting, with many interruptions, from 1833 to 1845. (3) The Wabash and Erie canal completed the series, extending from the point of intersection with the Miami extension canal to Maumee bay, at Toledo, a distance of ninety-one miles. It was begun in 1837 and finished in 1842.² For the purpose of convenience in book-keeping and general simplicity in designation, this combined body of water in 1849, by act of the Ohio legislature, became officially known as "the Miami and Erie canal."³

¹ See reports of canal commissioners, 1825-1845. They are variously designated as *Canal reports*, *Reports of the board of public works*, *Canal commissioners' reports*, *Canal documents*, etc. *Ohio State Journal*, September 25, 1828; *Cincinnati Gazette*, January 14, 1825; *Tenth census of the United States, 1880, transportation*, volume 4, part 2, p. 17.

² *Ibid.*; *Report of board of public works*, 1843.

³ *Report of canal commission*, 1845.

AGITATION

The agitation for the construction of a canal to traverse one of the western tiers of counties in Ohio was almost contemporaneous with that for the Erie canal, in New York.⁴ It was part of a general plan, formulated early in the eighteenth century, but with antecedents in the latter part of the seventeenth, for the building of internal waterways, to complete a continuous water course, by way of the Mississippi river and the Ohio, from the Gulf of Mexico, through the Great lakes, to the Atlantic ocean. The general purpose evidently was to reduce the burden of transportation, to direct the abundant yield of this great mid-west area toward convenient markets in the east, and to tie the west economically, and if possible politically, to the north Atlantic seaboard. The immediate purpose of the Miami and Erie canal was to connect Lake Erie with the Ohio river, giving to the producers in the middle of the state an opportunity equal with those near the lake and rivers for disposing of their surplus.⁵

The rich lands between the Ohio river and the lake had been under frequent discussion in state legislatures and in congress nearly a score of years before the first shovelful of soil was stirred in the construction of a canal. Even prior to the Northwest ordinance, of 1787, Washington and Jefferson had discussed the feasibility of connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio river as a part of a national project of water-ways, looking toward commercial communication with Canada and the Atlantic ocean.⁶ The matter was brought before congress in 1807 by Senator Thomas Worthington, later governor of Ohio. In 1810, when the Erie canal commission of New York, with DeWitt Clinton as its head, failed to secure national assistance for the proposed Erie canal in that state, it looked to Ohio for both financial and political aid in reaching the desired goal. But the Ohio legislature viewed the project as one to elicit national rather than state assistance; and, with the war of 1812 as an excuse to postpone final action, the matter was dropped for the

⁴ *Cincinnati Gazette*, March 12, 1817; *Laws of Ohio*, 1812; *Ohio, Senate journal*, 1817.

⁵ *Report of canal commission*, 1833.

⁶ *Ibid.*; *Ohio, Senate journal*, 1818, 1820, 1822. *American state papers: miscellaneous*, 2: 178, 399, 533-537, 555-557, 1390; *Laws of Ohio*, 1822.

time being. Despite such delays, DeWitt Clinton retained his hold in Ohio by communications with the political leaders and occasional requests for financial support.⁷

With the governorship of Ethan Allen Brown, in 1816, the state of Ohio began to give serious consideration to the program of canal building. Without national aid, the state of New York was going ahead to construct her Erie canal.⁸ Therefore, it was urged, Ohio must not lag behind. However, it required a decade more of agitation, investigation, and memorialization, to bring the state legislature to the point where it would act. Meanwhile, New York was pleading, but Ohio was yielding little more than to make brief surveys and issue long reports.

The efforts to attract attention to the north Atlantic seaboard were so numerous and the leaders in New York so attentive upon the construction of western canals that one is led to believe that there is some justification in the statement that the north Atlantic states were making a very determined bid for the trade of the west in order to get its political support with it.⁹ Oratory and newspaper articles dwelt long and ardently on the dangers and risks of a river voyage to the gulf of Mexico, by way of the Mississippi river, and on the likelihood of finding the markets there overstocked; and contended that to "leave one's property in New Orleans is to abandon it to destruction," and to wait for higher prices is "to incur the dangers of an unwholesome climate." The risks and the cost of sending a cargo from Ohio to the gulf by "circuitous and dangerous navigation, through more than ten degrees of latitude, approaching the torrid zone, exposed to all the deleterious effects of the climate," and returning sixteen hundred miles against the current of the Mississippi and the Ohio rivers, were compared with a voyage to New York, "in a healthful climate, supplied with all the comforts and necessities which a thickly settled and highly improved country will afford," and an expeditious voyage both going and coming, with the possibilities of bringing back from New York a full cargo of gypsum, salt, cloth, and other commodities.¹⁰

⁷ *Ibid.*; *Senate journal*, 1816, p. 68; 1817, pp. 189, 222, 321.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1818, pp. 10, 20, 139.

⁹ Ohio, *Journal of the house*, 1822; *United States census, 1880, transportation*: volume 4, part 2, p. 17; *Ohio State Journal*, November 2, 1826; Ohio archaeological and historical society, *Publications*, 13: 462.

¹⁰ *Canal reports*, 1823.

Lake Erie, bounding Ohio on the north, was rapidly becoming the vehicle of an extensive commerce, where in 1826 six steamboats regularly plied between the border villages on its shores and points on the western lakes, and where nearly one hundred coasting vessels spread their white sails, conveying the abundant products of this mid-continental area to New York or Montreal. What was then the west was growing in importance and its political strength was being felt.¹¹

CONSTRUCTION

The agitation for the construction of the Miami and Erie canal, as we have seen, was naturally during its first stages connected with the general plan of internal improvements in the United States, and is therefore concealed in the larger program of canal construction in the state of Ohio. Not until 1824 does it become a distinct and separate unit of activity. By the summer of that year, the route of the Miami canal was fixed as from Cincinnati to Dayton.¹² This fact registers the beginning of this particular piece of work. However, the act of February 4, 1825, should perhaps be considered the mother of the internal improvement program in Ohio; for therein, for the first time, after numerous and genuinely sincere attempts to formulate a program, were contained the delegated powers and the financial support to create a canal system.¹³ It provided for the internal improvement of the state by navigable canals and created a canal fund, to be obtained by appropriations, grants, donations, and so forth. It established a canal fund commission, empowered to borrow on the credit of the state, in 1825, an amount not exceeding \$400,000, and in any succeeding year not more than \$600,000. Immediately upon the passage of this act the work on the Miami canal was started.¹⁴

We should not lose sight of the fact that at the time the surveys were made, far the greater part of Ohio was virgin soil; the state was without public funds except such as were raised annually by direct taxation; and the people, indiscriminately

¹¹ *Ohio State Journal*, November 2, 1826.

¹² *Canal commission reports*, 1825.

¹³ *Senate journal*, 1825, p. 254; *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, January 18, 1825; *House journal*, 1825, p. 318.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

drawn from the other states in the union and from Europe, bringing their peculiar views and habits with them, had scarcely begun to realize that they were members of the same community.¹⁵ Civil engineering as a science had not yet been studied in the state, while but very few men in the bounds of the United States possessed the knowledge needed to plan and conduct work of this kind without grievous errors. Skilled engineers could be obtained only with great difficulty. Most of the preliminary surveys and examinations were, therefore, made by men who had little or no experience in the location of canals, and even after the construction was undertaken, the final locations were made and the execution conducted by the aid of young and inexperienced engineers. Samuel Geddes, one of the New York Erie canal engineers, was employed by the Ohio commissioners. He and his associates hunted down the water courses of the state, with crude instruments, determined the water level and gauged the water flow of every stream. They cut their way through unexplored forests and swamps, and after eight months Mr. Geddes had roughly suggested the route and plans. He reported a sufficient supply of water from Mad river and favored the Miami-Maumee route, from Toledo to Cincinnati.¹⁶

The commencement celebration, inaugurating this important piece of construction, was a holiday for western Ohio. It was held at Middletown, on July 21, 1825. DeWitt Clinton, the governor of New York, who had taken a very lively interest in the agitation for the Ohio canals, was invited to participate in the ceremony of breaking ground in this enterprise. Here at high noon, amid the glamour of military displays and colorful millinery, the first dirt from the Miami was disturbed by Governor Clinton of New York and Governor Morrow of Ohio. Colonel Francis Carr, grand marshal of ceremonies, had, through newspaper announcements, admonished men of all occupations to attend the celebration, bearing suitable emblems of their respective employments. Uniformed companies of soldiers and militiamen had marched overland from Cincinnati to the scene of festivities. The Cincinnati huzzars under Captain Morsell and the Cincinnati light infantry and guards had come nearly

¹⁵ *Canal commission report*, 1833.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

forty miles through heat and dust, accompanied by several thousand other people from the adjoining counties. The Hamilton dragoons were there, as were also the Lafayette grays. Judge Crane, the orator of the day, delivered an address, masterful, sober and eloquent, which is preserved in full in the file of the *Cincinnati Gazette*. As the clods were lifted by the governors, the militia began firing and simultaneously the assembled crowd rent the air with long and repeated shouts of rejoicing. Then the spades were passed to the canal commissioners and engineers, and from them to the hands of soldiers and citizens, eager to participate in the ceremony. At the community dinner which followed, toasts were drunk to George Washington, to the union, to the state of New York, to New York's governor, and to liberty. As the feast was drawing to its close, DeWitt Clinton rose to his feet and delivered a toast to the Miami canal in the following words: "Like the Nile, it will enrich and aggrandize the region of its transit, not by fertilizing a soil [already] exuberantly rich, but by opening lucrative markets for its productions." The next day, five teams of oxen and what the *Cincinnati Gazette* termed a "large number of hands" were at work on the spot where the first earth was removed.¹⁷

Though the reports of the canal commissioners abound with attractive sentences full of an optimism necessary for the leadership in so great an undertaking as this, the story of the construction of the Miami and Erie canal contains many dark pages. The program was not without its enemies, who predicted the utter ruin of the state thereby and whose maledictions constitute a depressing chapter in canal construction. The cost of quarrying the stone needed for the locks and piers was much in excess of estimates. The soil through which the canal was built was gravelly; consequently, the banks and the bottom of the channel were porous, permitting the water to leak out as quickly as it was let in from feeders and reservoirs. The spring freshets undermined the piers at the aqueducts in many places so that the pressure impaired the walls, which, upon inspection, were found to be built, according to the report, "in a very unfaithful manner." Some of the ponds on the elevations would overflow

¹⁷ *Cincinnati Advertiser*, July 27, 1825; *Cincinnati Gazette*, May 27, June 17, 24, July 26, 1825.

the banks of the canals in the spring, and therefore had to be drained by artificial outlets.¹⁸

To make matters worse, sickness frightened the laborers away. Contractors and sub-contractors absconded with money advanced to them, leaving the workmen unpaid. It is clear that the canal projects were regarded as enterprises in which the unscrupulous could reap lucrative harvests of profit by shiftless methods, inferior material, and downright crime. Ridiculously low bids were made on contracts in the evident hope of making up the deficit by one means or another. Strict economy failing, rather than to be crushed between competition and bankruptcy, the contractor made his way out through the nearest exit. The depreciation of the bank paper issued by the commissioners in wages and discounted at about two and one-half per cent, caused complaints and delays in obtaining the necessary workmen. People living in the vicinity of the construction, anticipating a heavy demand, advanced the prices of timber, stone and other material to ridiculous heights. There was not always time to wait for bids, nor was it always possible, on account of poor roads, to depend upon getting stone and timber at great distances. A number of serious breaks occurred near Hamilton, the embankment at its base yielding to the pressure of the water. At Gregory's creek a break occurred due to the interference of a man in closing the lock gates below and serious injuries were experienced. The dam in the feeder from the Great Miami was impaired by rains and rendered useless for the remainder of the season, the necessary water meanwhile being obtained from the river by the way of a brush dam. Immediately upon hearing of the break in the dam the contractors declared the contract forfeited. Thereupon, the state took possession and measures were taken to prevent further injury to the construction.¹⁹

Insinuations in the canal commissioners' reports of later years lead one to conclude that considerable expense was entailed in the replacement of wooden structure by stone or brick and the necessary outlays for repairing breaks in the canal banks.

¹⁸ *Canal commissioners' report*, 1823, 1825, 1828, 1829, 1839; *Cincinnati Gazette*, March 1, 8, April 19, 1825; *Ohio canal documents*, 186; *Ohio State Journal*, January 4, 1827; January 16, 1828.

¹⁹ *Canal commissioners' report*, 1826 (Senate) January 18, 1827; *Canal documents*, 203; *Ohio State Journal*, January 4, 1827, January 16, 1828.

Navigation was often interrupted for periods of six weeks in favorable weather in order to reinvest the channel with water, and occasionally during the entire winter season, traffic was suspended on account of ice blocking. Each year dirt deposits had to be removed; and to do so, the water had to be let out of the section undergoing repairs. So restless an age as the one in which we live would hardly have endured the long suffering with the degree of patience manifested by our forefathers.²⁰

There is an almost infinite amount of detail in the construction specifications set down by the engineers. But the limits of this paper forbid more than a passing reference to them. Wall thicknesses, towpath widths, the size of waste weirs, the quality of earth used in embankments, the width and depth of the channel, the size of locks and their capacities — these items consume many pages in the extant reports. The walls of the locks in the first unit of the canal, as a rule, were constructed of solid stone masonry resting on floors of timber laid crosswise, or, in the later works, of heavy timber. Culverts were of stone or of wood, while aqueducts were usually built of timber, supported by piers of uncut or hammer-dressed stone masonry.²¹

Though the canal project is at times temporarily obscured in the newspaper accounts by the visits of Lafayette to Cincinnati and the presence of Henry Clay and others on political campaigns, one finds assurances of the progress of the canal structure in the newspapers of the state at not infrequent intervals during the period. By the summer of 1827 a section of thirty-one miles of the line was completed, bringing the canal to the head of Main street in Cincinnati on the south and to Middletown on the north. At intervals during July great crowds gathered to see the water enter the canal. To their disappointment there was no rushing flood. The water sank into the dry beds as into a sponge and not until four months of patient waiting did sufficient water collect to float boats. Then, on November 28, the first group of three boats, thronged with enthusiasts, made the trip from the basin six miles north of Cincinnati to Middletown amid the booming of cannon along the way and the plaudits of crowds on the banks. The boats made an average of about three

²⁰ *Report of canal commissioners*, 1839.

²¹ *Rules and specifications*, Miami extension canal, 1833.

miles an hour. The canal commission, in its report, excuses this slow rate of speed with a recital of the delays incident to new hands, to detention at the locks, to inexperienced horses, and the newness of everything connected with the canal. It also explains that the excess in the cost of construction over the estimated amount for this portion of the work was due to errors made in estimating on single line levels, to the necessity of increasing the size at the base of some of the embankments where heavy bluffs were encountered so as to throw the central line of the canal farther into the hill or bluff-bank, to a scarcity of stone in the immediate vicinity and the need of hauling it greater distances than was anticipated as well as to the surprises in finding some rock excavations necessary in the course of the canal.²²

During the following summer, 1828, the work was extended on the south to Broadway in Cincinnati, and to the north, reaching Dayton before fall. On Sunday, January 22, 1829, crowds gathered at Dayton to witness the approach of the first boat, the *Governor Brown*, to arrive from Cincinnati. Later in the day the *Forrer* and the *General Marion* also reached Dayton.²³

Work on the Miami extension canal was begun early in 1833. It was interrupted by numerous and unavoidable casualties in construction and by delays of various kinds. Several large reservoirs, involving thousands of acres of land, were necessary to supply water in sufficient quantities and had to be excavated. Breaks at the banks when water was admitted were numerous, considerably postponing the date of completion set in the first plans of the commissioners. By 1836 the portion between Dayton and Loramie's creek was completed, and in July it was admitted to navigation, making a total of ninety-nine miles on this line.²⁴

The Ohio portion of the Wabash and Erie canal commenced at the town of Manhattan near the mouth of the Maumee river and running up the valley near the river a distance of eighty-seven miles, joined the Wabash and Erie canal of Indiana, at the state line. From there it extended into Indiana to Lafayette,

²² *Canal commission report*, 1828; *Ohio State Journal*, July 19, 1825; August 10, December 7, 1826; January 16, 1828.

²³ *Canal commission report*, 1829.

²⁴ *Report of canal commission*, 1833, 1837.

a distance of 143 miles, making a total canal length in Ohio and Indiana of 230 miles.²⁵

In building the Ohio portion of the Wasbash and Eries canal, contractors experienced greater difficulty than elsewhere. Prevailing high prices of material and consequent high prices of labor, epidemics of fever in the summer of 1839, the remoteness of the situation of the canal line from the better cultivated portions of the state, contributed to the delay of construction. The greatest difficulty in this part of the work was in procuring the masonry. Stone for locks and culverts had to be brought from the Peninsula in Ottawa county and hauled in lake vessels to Maumee City, then transferred to canal boats and taken to its destination. Besides, for five months in the year, because of the severity of the climate, with early and late frosts, the work in mortar had to be abandoned.²⁶

The total length of the canal from the head of Maumee bay at Toledo to the Ohio river at Cincinnati was 244 miles. Reservoirs and other feeders brought the total water length to over 300 miles. The highest point of the canal line was Loramie summit, 374 feet above Lake Erie and 516 feet above the Ohio river at Cincinnati. The lock system, with a total of ninety-five locks, was used to overcome the difference in elevations. The minimum width of the canal channel at the water line from Dayton to Cincinnati was, when constructed, forty feet, with a depth of four feet. The second unit, the Miami extension canal, was fifty feet wide at the water's surface and five feet deep. On the third unit, the Wabash and Erie, from Manhattan to the junction with the Miami extension canal, the channel had a minimum width of sixty feet at the water's line and a depth of six feet. From the junction near Defiance to the state line it was fifty feet wide at the surface and five feet deep. On this branch the locks were built of wood, as were also those in Mercer county.²⁷

After a lapse of twenty years since the beginning of the work, despite numerous discouragements and delays, announcement was made in June, 1845, that the canal was finished. The northern part of the channel, now ready for the water that was to

²⁵ *Report of board of public works*, 1843, p. 16.

²⁶ *Report of canal commission*, 1839, p. 14.

²⁷ *Rules and specifications* (pamphlet published by canal commissioners); *Report of board of public works*, 1843, p. 19.

make it a canal and unite it with its other members to the south, received its water slowly and gradually, beginning on Saturday, June 7. The principal towns along the route then made elaborate preparations for a celebration in honor of the event. This celebration, for which citizens of Toledo, Dayton, and Cincinnati had planned that seventy or eighty boats, decorated with banners and flags, should ascend and descend the canal, triumphantly proclaiming the consummation of the undertaking, was unfortunately never held. The celebration committee did its work faithfully and thoroughly. It selected July 4, 1845, as the day and Cincinnati as the place. The citizens of Indiana and Kentucky were invited to make it a tri-state triumph. Everything was in readiness, the order of march was decided upon, displays of fireworks were prepared, the orators were selected and ready, even the throngs of people had assembled to celebrate on independence day the consummation of the internal improvements program. According to the *Cincinnati Gazette*, "the City was all agog on the Fourth. Early in the day people from the country poured into it, and by ten o'clock thousands were planted along the streets, wondering at what they saw, and doubtless watching eagerly for things yet more wonderful to be seen."²⁸

But there was no celebration. The big-mouthed cannon began thundering early in the day, but that was the only eloquence heard by the assembled crowds. Conscientious objectors, decrying such sacrilegious use of the nation's anniversary of independence, broke up the festivities.²⁹ Consequently, no boats paraded on the canal, there was no procession in the streets, and there were no speeches. Instead, people betook themselves to such secluded spots of grass and shade as they could find and calmly ate their lunches, awaiting the approach of evening, when they could appease their irritated consciences and make the long journey back to their homes.

FINANCE

Clothed with authority by the act of February 4, 1825, the Ohio canal commissioners advertised in Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and Boston, inviting bids to be made to them, in New

²⁸ *Cincinnati Gazette*, July 7, 1845; *Cincinnati Morning Herald*, June 21, 1845; *Ohio State Journal*, May 28, June 18, 25, 1845.

²⁹ *Cincinnati Gazette*, July 7, 1845; *Cincinnati Morning Herald*, July 7, 1845.

York city, by April 5, 1825, for a loan of \$400,000. Though the enemies of the canal did their best to defeat it, even sending to New York and Philadelphia newspapers material detrimental to the project, a favorable offer was made by the firm of Lord and Rathbone, of New York city, and a contract was drawn for the advance of money to begin the construction of the several Ohio canals. Here again the Miami and Erie portion is treated in the management of the general scheme. The firm, it was agreed, should pay \$390,000 in three installments. Ten per cent, or \$39,000, should be paid at the time of drawing the contract; forty per cent, or \$156,000, on August 1, 1825; and fifty per cent, or \$195,000, on November 1. The money, it was agreed, should be deposited in banks at convenient points near the construction. The firm should receive certification of debt to the amount of \$400,000, bearing five per cent per annum, payable semi-annually in January and July, at the Manhattan bank, in New York. The Manhattan company agreed to receive the installments from the Manhattan bank and pay to the Ohio canal commissioners interest on any portion thereof that remained undrawn, except an initial \$20,000 to be exempt from an interest charge as a partial compensation for handling the deal.³⁰

At the time of the completion of the Miami canal, in 1828, the canal commissioners reported a total cost of \$457,969.68 for the forty-four miles of canal constructed. This was an average cost per mile of \$10,408.40 and covers actual construction only, including such items as raising banks, strengthening, securing, and repairing the aqueducts, and building the lock houses up to December 1, 1827. To this sum must be added enough to bring the total cost to \$469,183.68, the additional amount figuring in damage claims, unexpected advances in prices, and bills rendered during the last few weeks of the work and not included in the earlier figures. The original estimate of the cost of this division of the canal, beginning at the Ohio river and including the dam and feeder, was \$274,254.³¹

In the prosecution of the work, the commissioners experienced much difficulty in the want of integrity on the part of some of the contractors and sub-contractors. New and then one finds in the

³⁰ *Report of canal commissioners, 1825, 1826; Cincinnati Gazette, April 19, 1825.*

³¹ *Report of canal commissioners, 1828; Ohio State Journal, January 16, 1828.*

reports a tone of despair akin to that met even today, of which the following is a fair example:

Experience has demonstrated that the most faithless men sometimes obtain letters of recommendation from men of standing and character and thus are enabled to obtain a confidence which they are not entitled to.³²

The United States congress, in order to facilitate the work of the Miami extension canal, granted 464,106 acres in tracts of land five miles wide in alternate sections along the proposed route. This land was to be sold at \$1.25 per acre. In 1837 engineers made the final locations for the portion of the Wabash and Erie canal lying within the state of Ohio, and contracts were let for all of its sections in 1837 and 1838. Funds from the sale of the Wabash and Erie canal lands formed the financial basis for the construction of this portion of the work, most of the lands being withheld from the market until the completion of the work.³³

The portion of the canal extending from the mouth of Loramie's creek to a point twelve miles north of St. Mary's, a distance of forty-five miles and including the Mercer county reservoir and Sidney feeder, was the most costly piece of canal work of equal distance in Ohio, despite the fact that all of the locks, culverts, and feeders on this line were built of wood. "Domestic bonds" were floated by the state to meet the financial emergency created by the shortage of funds for canal construction. Many persons, owing to the discount on bonds, refused to accept them, preferring to hold deferred payment checks. Again and again the credit of the state, involving every class of citizens who sold material or worked or bought bonds, was stretched almost to the breaking point to meet the demands of the hour. Funds necessary for the construction were raised by private contributions, by loans, by county and municipal aid, and by the sale of the land ceded by the United States government. The greater part of the financial burden through the construction of the two northern divisions was borne by patient citizens, workers, farmers, merchants, retailers, and purchasers of canal bonds, all of whom shared in the inconveniences and hardships incident to

³² *Report of canal commissioners, in Ohio State Journal, January 4, 1827.*

³³ *Report of board of public works, 1837; Canal commissioners' report, 1838, 1839.*

long postponements in meeting obligations. Laborers were paid from eight to ten dollars a month for digging, shoveling, and all unskilled work, with lodging and board in addition. Men came considerable distances, evidently glad, as a rule, to get the work at such figures, particularly in winter. Engineers received from \$1000 a year up.³⁴

The total cost of the Miami and Erie canal was \$7,414,915, divided as follows:³⁵

The Miami canal and its branches.....	\$1,237,552
The Miami extension canal and its branches.....	3,167,440
The Wabash and Erie canal and its branches.....	3,009,923

The state of Ohio, in addition to securing this valuable waterway, kept most of this money within her own boundaries, for a state officer of Ohio writes to the *National Intelligencer*, in February, 1833, stating that of the money used in construction of public works in Ohio, not over one per cent had been expended outside of the state.³⁶

CONCLUSION

Ohio looked upon the completion of the Ohio and Erie canal as the beginning of a new era in the business of the mid-continental west, for to her it opened the Mississippi valley as never before to the commercial enterprise of the north.³⁷ On the other hand, it is fortunate that the work was completed as early as 1845, for the enthusiasm over railway construction and the competition with turnpike roads was rapidly causing the interest in canals to wane.³⁸ Many issues of the newspapers of the state for some years prior to 1845 bear testimony to the fact that the railway had obscured the prominence formerly given to the canal.

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³⁴ *Report of canal commissioners*, 1843; William C. Howells, *Recollections of life in Ohio from 1813 to 1840* (Cincinnati, 1895), 139; *Legislative documents*, 1845-1846, p. 76.

³⁵ *Ohio State Journal*, August 13, 1845.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, May 28, July 2, 1845.

³⁸ *House journal*, 1838; *Report of board of public works*, 1838.

THE STRATEGY OF CONCENTRATION, AS USED BY THE CONFEDERATE FORCES IN THE MIS- SISSIPPI VALLEY IN THE SPRING OF 1862

Concentration in warfare, at least in practice, is not at all a recent idea. On the contrary it is practically as old as recorded military history. In fact, nearly five thousand years ago in the neighborhood of the Persian gulf, a Sumerian city-king had organized his infantry in phalanx formation, or in other words had adopted the idea of concentration in tactics.¹ Less remote ancients—Persians, Greeks, Carthaginians, and Romans—made frequent use of both the tactics and the strategy of concentration. Even the so-called dark ages furnish many examples of the application of what, in the course of time, had become not only the practice but the principle of concentration in warfare. It is not necessary to be specific, for the facts are everywhere accessible and only tedium would result from any attempt to trace, even with the greatest brevity, the application of this principle throughout the centuries.

It is necessary in this paper, however, to give a moment's consideration to the Corsican child of destiny, Napoleon Bonaparte, whose influence has vitally affected all later warfare and all later military theory. The strategy and tactics of concentration were the foundation of the military successes of this remarkable man, whom an Oxford tutor of mine, in a private conversation, described as "the sole outstanding personality of the first half of the nineteenth century." As we know, Napoleon obtained his ideas of strategy and tactics, partly at least, from profound study of the past. In early manhood, he pored over the campaigns of Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar. He read eagerly and carefully Plutarch's *Lives* and Cæsar's *Gallic wars*. Of modern masters of military art, he made a particular study of Marlborough and Frederick the Great. Inevitably he found striking cases of the application

¹ James H. Breasted, *Ancient times* (Boston, 1916), 120.

of this principle of concentration, and he profited well by his studies.

The location of his artillery at a vital central spot on the 13 Vendemiaire illustrates Napoleon's early use of the principle of concentration. Concentration, in strategy or tactics or both, characterizes the majority of his campaigns. It is seen in Italy in 1797 and 1800, along the Danube in 1805 and 1809, in Prussia in 1806, in Russia in 1812, and above all in France in the memorable campaign of 1813-1814. It is true that at times Napoleon violated the principle of concentration. The failure to withdraw his garrisons from the German fortresses in 1813 may be cited by way of example. But on the whole he was an exponent of the principle of concentration. At his fall he left behind not only the example of his campaigns and battles, but written exposition of his maxims of war.

One of the most significant exhibits in the Confederate museum in Richmond, Virginia, is a small volume entitled *Napoleon's maxims of war*, which on the death of Stonewall Jackson was found in his haversack. Jackson, the greatest of the strategists in the confederate army, was essentially Napoleonic in his warfare.

"Concentrate to fight; unity of command is necessary to success; time is everything."² Such are the maxims of Napoleon. I believe that few campaigns in history are more valuable for study of the application and validity of these maxims than that of the confederate armies in the Mississippi valley in the first half of the year 1862.

For political and economic reasons of great validity, which President Davis saw very clearly, the recognition of which involved him in serious quarrels with some of his generals, the confederate forces in the winter of 1861-1862 were scattered across southern Kentucky, and northern Tennessee. Polk was at Columbus, Kentucky, on the Mississippi; insignificant forces were at Forts Henry and Donelson on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. Albert Sidney Johnston, commander of the department, was at Bowling Green, Kentucky, watching Buell.

² John H. Rose, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe* (Cambridge university press, 1894), 80.

Small and scattered confederate forces were stationed in eastern Tennessee and southwestern Kentucky.

Facing the confederates were greatly superior numbers. Halleck in the spring of 1862 commanded in the west, according to his own estimate, about 270,000 men.³ Against these it is doubtful if the confederates could oppose much more than a third of this number, even including various forces in Arkansas, along the Mississippi, at Mobile and Pensacola and along the Atlantic coast as far north as the North Carolina-Virginia frontier.

In the confederate line in southern Kentucky and northern Tennessee there was a weak but vital spot. This was where the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers opened up a waterway to Nashville and as far south as Alabama. In the preceding autumn, forts had been begun at the point where the rivers approach each other. The importance of the point was well understood, by some at least. Gideon Pillow, on December 11, 1861, had written to W. W. Mackall, assistant adjutant general to Albert Sidney Johnston, warning him that the enemy would ignore Columbus, Kentucky, and make a heavy attack upon Fort Henry.⁴

It was at this weak but vital spot that Grant broke through in the middle of February. The loss of Forts Henry and Donelson forced the confederates to fall back all along the line. Albert Sidney Johnston for a time was overwhelmed by the disaster and by the unsparing criticism which fell upon his head. At the time he was most severely criticised for the abandonment and loss of Kentucky and central Tennessee. The very bitterness of this in 1862 is evidence of the strength of the considerations which led him to accept the policy of territorial defense. Critics of a later date have largely dwelt upon his violation of the principle of concentration. That his strategy was of the highest type certainly cannot be maintained. He probably erred in a timely and proper valuation of the vital spot in the confederate line of defense. Roman,⁵ Beauregard's biographer,

³ *Official records of the rebellion* (Washington, 1880-1901), 8:649.

⁴ *Ibid.*, series 1, volume 7, p. 758.

⁵ Alfred Roman, *Military operations of General Beauregard* (New York, 1884), volume 1.

credits him with a sound opinion on this matter early in February, 1862. But it was too late then to prevent a calamity. He also made a poor selection of men to defend this vital spot, even when it is admitted that his choice was very limited.

After the event, concentration appeared to all as the only available policy. Roman, of course, gives Beauregard credit for the earliest advocacy of concentration in the Mississippi valley. I am not convinced from the official records that anyone in particular was largely responsible for the origin of this suggestion, which would naturally occur, in time, to everyone. Bragg, from Mobile, wrote to the government on February 15, urging concentration in Kentucky. Benjamin, in reply, on February 18, claimed this as the policy of the administration assuring him that, "We had had in contemplation the necessity of abandoning the seaboard in order to defend the Tennessee line."⁶ In a letter to R. E. Lee on February 24, Benjamin wrote, "The railroad line from Memphis to Richmond must be defended at all hazards."⁷ Even Albert Sidney Johnston in his report on the evacuation of Nashville, dated February 25, advanced the idea of concentration in the assertion of his intention of going to Mississippi by way of Decatur.

But discounting, as one inevitably will, Roman's narrative, the case of G. T. Beauregard seems worthy of special consideration. Acting on general orders issued late in January, Beauregard had left Virginia for a command in the Mississippi valley. Having arrived at Bowling Green, Kentucky, on February 5, he was after some conferences assigned to command at Columbus, Kentucky. By reason of his rank of general, which had been awarded for his work at Manassas, he was second in command in the west, under Albert Sidney Johnston.

Of all the confederate commanders Beauregard was the clearest theoretical advocate of the strategy of concentration. Previous to the first battle of Manassas, he had formulated strategical ideas of concentration which were presented to President Davis, and which, though not adopted until it was evident what the enemy would do, yet led to the junction of the

⁶ *Rebellion records*, series 1, volume 6, pp. 826, 828.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 398.

forces of Joseph E. Johnston, Beauregard, and Holmes, which later made victory possible. The quarrel about this matter which later arose between Beauregard and Davis may be ignored here.

Beauregard's correspondence throughout the war is full of the theory of concentration. By way of example, in a letter to Dabney F. Maury in June, 1863, he wrote: "The true motto of every general should be, 'United we stand, divided we fall' and the essence of the art of war is to concentrate on the proper point at the right time."⁸ On his transfer to the Mississippi valley, Beauregard followed consistently his theory of concentration. From the records much credit must be given him in connection with the organization leading up to the battle of Shiloh or Pittsburgh landing. When, by reason of the fall of Forts Henry and Donelson, Albert Sidney Johnston, his superior, fell back from Bowling Green, Kentucky, to Nashville, Tennessee, and from Nashville through Murfreesboro to Shelbyville, Beauregard drew back Polk and Pillow from Columbus, Kentucky, urged upon VanDorn in northwestern Arkansas the necessity of bringing his forces across the Mississippi, made strong appeals to the governors and citizens of the threatened states, and impressed upon Albert Sidney Johnston the vital necessity of concentration at Corinth.⁹ At this time Beauregard suffered greatly from a severe affection of the throat, brought on by exposure in northern Virginia in the preceding autumn and winter. His activity in this state of the health was really astonishing, if we can judge by the extent of his correspondence.

If ever the strategy of concentration was employed to a remarkable degree in warfare, it was by Johnston and Beauregard in the Mississippi valley between the middle of February and the first of April, 1862. VanDorn and Price were summoned from northwestern Arkansas, Bragg was called up from Mobile and Pensacola, and Mansfield Lowell was persuaded to send most of his forces from New Orleans. The available seasoned troops of the confederacy were gradually concentrated

⁸ *Ibid.*, 28:160.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 7:896, 900; 8:771.

at Corinth. By strenuous efforts about 40,000 men were assembled by April 1. Grant's failure to make a rapid counter concentration gave the confederates the chance of success.

"Concentrate to fight. Unity of command is necessary to success. Time is everything"—these are the three maxims of Napoleon. The confederates had carried out splendidly the first of these. In the two latter, they failed.

It was expected to march from Corinth to Shiloh in time to open the battle at dawn on April 5. But severe rains made the roads muddy, the quartermaster's department was poorly equipped for such an emergency, and the staff work was faulty. On one occasion hours were lost at a cross-roads while one corps crossed the route of another. Time, which in this particular case was truly everything, was irretrievably lost. It was not until the dawn of April 6 that Johnston, having moved about twenty miles from Corinth to Shiloh church, was ready to fall upon the five isolated divisions left by Grant upon the west side of the Tennessee river. The battle which followed was the first really great battle upon the continent. No such large bodies of men had before grappled upon American soil. It was an undreamed of experience for commanders and men alike.

I shall not go into details concerning the struggle, but the temptation to quote a sentence in Beauregard's report is irresistible. "Like an Alpine avalanche our troops moved forwards, despite the determined resistance of the enemy, until after 6 p. m.," wrote Beauregard.¹⁰ The phrase "until after 6 p. m." is important in throwing light on the old but intensely interesting problem of the failure of the confederates to push home their attack on the evening of April 6. The report of Major R. T. Harvey,¹¹ Second Arkansas infantry, "We then retired, it being 6 p. m.," confirms Beauregard's statement. In no other report is there a definite statement as to the hour. As a reason for his failure to continue the battle after this hour, Beauregard gave the exhaustion of his men after twelve hours of fighting without food, when already jaded by the muddy march from Corinth.¹² Some gave the fire of the gunboats as

¹⁰ *Rebellion records*, volume 10, part 2, p. 386.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, part 1, p. 576.

¹² *Ibid.*, 387.

a reason. This from a careful study of the war I am inclined to discount. In the language of the report of Colonel George Maney, who faced this fire from the gunboats on that day, it was "more noisy than destructive."¹³ His statement is fortified by a letter of W. H. C. Whiting, one of the ablest engineers in the confederate army, to a newspaper in regard to a similar occasion in Virginia waters. Direct gunfire by gunboats upon infantry he held to be alarming but not very dangerous. For the failure of the confederates to advance farther, I have seen given as a reason the reorganization of a portion of Grant's artillery and infantry upon a final line of defense. Really if one cause must be cited above all others, it was the accidental loss of unity and continuity of command through the unforeseen death of Albert Sidney Johnston. The second maxim of Napoleon, above quoted, was not maintained, though destiny was at least partially responsible for its miscarriage.

On the night of April 6 fresh troops under Buell came up to join the forces of the union army. Grant did heroic work in the reorganization of his line on the west bank of the river. Out-numbered and defeated, Beauregard fell back toward Corinth on the afternoon of April 7. Here he was joined by VanDorn, who had crossed the Mississippi at Memphis but who did not join the concentration in time to engage in the decisive battle of the campaign. Along the Charleston and Memphis railroads, which passed through Corinth, Beauregard threw up fortifications to defend this highly important center. For nearly two months the confederate and union armies faced each other in this region. Finally, when Halleck had raised his forces at this point to 100,000 men and was at last ready to besiege Corinth, Beauregard, on the advice of his subordinates, withdrew to Tupelo, Mississippi, about forty miles to the south. The unsanitary conditions of the encampment, poor water, and much sickness were given as among the reasons for this retirement.¹⁴

This retreat to Tupelo marked the end of the confederate campaign of the first half of 1862. Halleck did not pursue. A summer interlude in this unhealthful region resulted, to be followed by Grant's Mississippi campaign and the remarkable

¹³ *Ibid.*, 455.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, part 2, p. 545.

movement of Bragg into Tennessee and Kentucky. In the failure at Shiloh, the whole purpose of the earlier concentration of the confederate forces was defeated.

Now come up for consideration the concomitant aspects of the concentration so thoroughly carried out in this campaign. A long paper would be required for an adequate discussion of these. Political, economic, and military affairs were alike affected, and, as usual in warfare, these affairs were inextricably commingled. Only a partial consideration of these aspects is possible. Much must be omitted and great gaps left in the treatment.

Across the Mississippi river in Missouri and Arkansas, important results followed the concentration at Corinth. The seasoned troops needed for the defense of this region, a valuable source of supplies for the confederacy, were drawn away under Van Dorn and Price. Not until nearly a year later¹⁵ was a mere remnant of these returned to the trans-Mississippi under Price, whose main interest was in Missouri and whose wishes to be returned to the west bank of the Mississippi were for a long time overridden. Missouri and northern Arkansas were thus lost to the confederacy. Had it not been for the hills and the east and west rivers of Arkansas, which made north and south communications difficult, it is probable that all Arkansas would have been overrun. As it was, southern Arkansas, by reason of droughts and the predominance of the cotton crop, was of little value to the confederacy during the war.

Elsewhere the story is much the same. On the withdrawal from the bluffs at Columbus, Kentucky, in February, the confederate forces closing the Mississippi from the north fell back down the river to Madrid Bend, New Madrid, and Island No. 10, places of greatly inferior strength. Neither the ability of the commanders nor the character of the forces placed at these points seems to have been fortunate.¹⁶ The best of everything was concentrated at Corinth. In March and April these places were easily captured by Pope with the assistance of the fleet of gunboats. On March 14 Pope wrote Halleck from near New Madrid, "To my utter amazement the enemy hurriedly evacuated

¹⁵ February 27, 1863. *Rebellion records*, volume 22, part 2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 8:138.

the place last night, leaving everything.”¹⁷ On April 8 he was able to announce, “Everything is ours. Few, if any of the enemy escaped. Three generals, 6,000 prisoners, an immense quantity of ammunition and supplies, 100 pieces of siege and several batteries of field artillery, great numbers of small arms, tents, wagons, horses, etc., have fallen into our hands. We have not lost a man in crossing the river or in pursuing or capturing the enemy.”

From these points, the confederates fell back nearer to Memphis and fortified Fort Pillow, the last place of any strength above Memphis. This point was held as long as Beauregard remained at Corinth. When, early in June, Beauregard drew back to Tupelo, Fort Pillow and Memphis fell into the possession of the union forces. The Mississippi river was opened up to the neighborhood of Vicksburg. The railroad line from Memphis to Richmond, which Benjamin wanted defended “at all hazards,” was permanently cut by the loss of these places.

At the lower end of the Mississippi river, equally important events occurred. For the concentration at Corinth Lovell had sent off his available seasoned troops. A result was that his defensive forces were dangerously weakened. Just at this time an armament under Farragut and Butler attacked the defenses of New Orleans. Mismanagement, particularly in the restoration of the boom which had been swept away by floods and in the divided command of land and naval defenses, was a contributing cause of the disaster which followed, but the insufficiency of numbers and the character of the defenders was fatal. In his official report, Lovell with some self-control remarked, “I will here state that every Confederate soldier in New Orleans, with the exception of one company had been ordered to Corinth to join General Beauregard in March, and the city was only garrisoned by about 50,000 ninety-day troops, called out by the governor at my request, of whom about 1200 had muskets and the remainder shotguns of an indifferent description.”¹⁸ For the loss of New Orleans Lovell was later tried by a military court. The finding of the court substantiated this statement of Lovell, in the following language: “His ability to hold that

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 641.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 6:513.

line against such an attack was greatly impaired by the withdrawal from him by his superior authority of nearly all his effective troops."¹⁹

In the light of these statements is it too much to say that the loss of New Orleans was part of the price for the concentration at Corinth? If this was the case, it was a dear price for the success actually attained, for New Orleans once lost was never recovered and it served as a base for the attempt to complete the opening of the Mississippi river from the south in the following winter and year. By its fall another route connecting the confederacy was cut, and a most favorable place for blockade running lost to the south.

In conclusion, concentration is unquestionably a sound tenet of military strategy. But, whatever the merit of concentration in the abstract, does not the history of this campaign show that it has very definite limitations? Counter considerations of great importance certainly existed in the confederacy in the first half of 1862. A natural objection to this interpretation of the campaign is that the obvious alternative of scattered defence along territorial lines was still worse. But this obvious alternative was not the only solution. Concentration must have certain definite concomitants. Complete and continuous unity of command and intense activity must go with the strategy of concentration. "Time is everything." Rapidity of movement should characterize the concentration and the blow of the forces thus concentrated. And, to use an expression very popular at the present time, the blow must be followed through. When the blow fails as it did in this case, the counter considerations are at once sacrificed or endangered.

Concentration within limits and when necessary, the utilization to full advantage of interior lines, in conjunction with audacity, activity, and aggressiveness, would seem to have been the best strategy for the confederacy, not only in this campaign, but throughout the war between the states.

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¹⁹ *Rebellion records*, 6: 641.

FINAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON STANDARD- IZING LIBRARY WORK AND LIBRARY EQUIPMENT FOR HISTORY IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS *

Procedure of committee. In 1918, the Mississippi valley historical association appointed the present committee on standardizing library work and library equipment for history in secondary schools. From the beginning, the committee has acted on the principle that if its recommendations were to be of any real value they must be based upon facts. Accordingly, after delimiting its task as a study primarily of the existing facilities for, and the prevailing practices in, collateral reading in American history and modern European history, the committee prepared a questionnaire for the purpose of discovering: (1) the history books available in high-school libraries; (2) the custom in duplicating titles; (3) the books found most useful in these two fields by teachers and pupils; (4) the amount of money expended for history books; and (5) methods of checking collateral reading.¹

Scope of survey. The following thirteen states in the Mississippi valley were included in the survey: Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Wisconsin. Each state is represented by one member of the committee. The questionnaires were circulated within each state by the local member of the committee, who, in most instances, also tabulated wholly or in part the returns for his state and forwarded them to the chairman for final tabulation.

The committee hoped to secure returns from each of the accredited or approved high schools in these states. Although this hope was not realized, a total of 520 secondary schools was heard from. These schools are of all sorts — public high schools, college preparatory schools, laboratory schools, military academies, township high schools; by far the greater number, however, are public secondary institutions. They range in size from 16 pupils to 3,289 pupils; most of them contain from two hundred to six hundred pupils. They are located in communities whose population varies from that of mere villages to that of cities like Cleveland, Milwaukee, Detroit, and Chicago. Though limited in number,

* A portion of this report has been published in the *School review* for February, 1921. It is also to appear in a forthcoming number of the *Historical outlook*.

¹ The questionnaire is given in full at the end of the report.

they may for these reasons be regarded as representative of the middle west.

Character of returns. The questionnaires returned were, in most instances, filled out by the teacher of history, usually by the head of the history department; in the remaining cases, they were answered by the principal, the superintendent, or the librarian.

As may be anticipated, the returns differ widely in value. Some show signs of haste; some are incomplete; some contain glaring inaccuracies and inconsistencies; and a considerable number have answers which are so vague as to be of little or no value. But this sort is not the rule. In general, the questionnaires seem to have been filled out with care and contain unmistakable evidences of thought and time in their preparation.

Year in which American history is studied. From the returns it appears that American history is usually studied in the senior year of high school or in the junior and senior years. Of the forty-six schools reporting from Wisconsin, for example, thirty-eight have American history in the senior year of high school, eight in the junior and senior years. In Ohio, fifty of the fifty-nine schools reporting have American history in the senior year, six have it in the senior and junior years, one in the freshman year, and two fail to state in which year it is given. In a considerable number of the schools in Iowa and Missouri and, to a less degree, in those of Illinois, there seems to be a tendency to offer American history only in the third year, seventeen of the fifty-four Iowa schools, nine of the thirty-four Missouri schools, and nine of the one hundred twenty-six Illinois schools so reporting.

Time devoted to American history. The time devoted to American history in most of the schools is either a half year or a year. Of the 520 schools reporting, 272 give from thirty-six to forty weeks to the subject, 190 from eighteen to twenty weeks. Kansas, Oklahoma, and Wisconsin lead among the states which give a year course; Minnesota, Iowa, and Ohio among those which offer a half-year. In most of the states, however, there is a wide variation. In Ohio, for instance, of the fifty-nine schools reporting, thirty-nine give from eighteen to twenty weeks to the subject; thirteen, from thirty-six to forty weeks; two, thirty-two weeks; one, twenty-four weeks; one, twenty-two weeks; one, sixteen weeks; and two schools do not report the time allowed. With one exception, all the Minnesota schools which reported devote but eighteen weeks to American history. On the other hand, all of the Kansas schools which reported, and twenty-six of the thirty-three Oklahoma schools, give a full year of thirty-six weeks to the subject. More than two-thirds of the Illinois schools also devote from thirty-six to forty weeks to American history, seventy-one schools giving a full year to the subject and thirty-four schools a half year. In Indiana sixteen schools report thirty-six to forty

weeks, while fifteen reply eighteen to twenty weeks. In some instances, a portion of the time allotted to American history was utilized for the teaching of civics.

Unfortunately, many teachers seem to have interpreted "modern European history" to mean medieval and modern history. Information furnished as to the time devoted to its study was of such a character therefore as to be unusable.

History texts. According to the returns, the texts in most favor in the states surveyed are, with the number of schools using them, as follows: Muzzey, *American history*, 137; McLaughlin, *American nation*, 87; Hart, *American history*, 68; Fite, *United States*, 66; James and Sanford, *American history*, 56; West, *American history*, 31; others are occasionally mentioned, but none is given as many as twenty-five times. In European history, selections rank thus: Robinson and Beard, *Outlines of European history*, part 2, 153; West, *Modern world*, 121; Robinson, *History of western Europe*, 53; Harding, *New medieval and modern history*, 40;² Webster, *Modern times*, 39; Myers, *Medieval and modern history*, 29; occasionally other texts are mentioned, but in no case are they given so often as twenty-five times.

Amount of collateral reading required. In answer to the question, "How much collateral reading is usually done per week? Indicate by pages or otherwise," it is not uncommon to find such expressions as "not much," "hard to get teachers to assign collateral," "not definite," "as much as can," "some," "very little," "library so inadequate can have no collateral reading," "not estimated in pages." On the other hand, a large proportion of the schools report from ten to thirty pages of collateral reading in American history every week. To quote the figures in Ohio we find that of the fifty-nine schools reporting, twenty-three require from ten to thirty pages weekly; two, from twenty or twenty-five to fifty pages; four, fifty pages or more; one, six pages; one, five pages; while the twenty-eight other schools either give no information on this point, or use such vague expressions as "difficult to estimate," "varies," and "not much." In Wisconsin twenty-eight of the forty-six schools report from ten to thirty pages weekly; six, from fifteen to seventy-five pages; one, "one and one-half to two hours"; while the remaining eleven are vague or silent on the point, report "very little," or say "below ten pages." Although the proportion varies, the same general

² In some schools, Harding's *Essentials in medieval and modern history* is used rather than his *New medieval and modern history*; in like manner, some schools use West's *Modern history* instead of his *Modern world*. In all such instances, the figures are combined and the total stands as given above. As indicated in the body of the report, the different interpretation of teachers as to the meaning of "modern European history" renders the figures concerning texts of little value.

result appears in all the states which give sufficient data for forming a conclusion of any worth.

Among the individual answers possessing interest are those of a Nebraska school which reports its history study as "all library work," an Indiana school which requires "one period daily in reference room," a school in Kansas which requires "one hundred pages weekly," and an Illinois school which requires twenty-five pages a week the first semester and fifty to one hundred pages a week the second semester.

A considerable number of teachers do not require the reading of a certain number of pages weekly or monthly. Says one, "Work not assigned by the week but by the subject." Says another, "I have found the requirement of a certain number of pages unsatisfactory. I assign individual topics." Says a third, "I place much responsibility on the students. Monthly topics are assigned and no references given." From the principal of a school enrolling 400 pupils comes this note of discouragement:

"For many years we prided ourselves on our good historical library and for the amount of collateral reading that we appeared to extract from our pupils. But during the last five years, the pressure of other collateral activities of the social, civic, and economic order has made collateral reading impossible. Also athletics, the mania for the movies and for recreational activities, all encouraged by the press and the public, have tended to discourage reading almost to the point of disappearance. Collateral reading, although recommended and pressed for years, is, with the majority of our pupils, a failure."

The checking of collateral reading. The methods of checking collateral reading most frequently listed in the returns are the written test, notebook, oral quiz, recitation, card report, and special report given orally or in writing. Examples of forms used by one school which requires a daily and also a weekly report follow:

DAILY READING REPORT BLANK

Name	Date
Author	Title
	Pages

WEEKLY READING REPORT BLANK

HISTORY DEPARTMENT				
Supplementary Reading Slip				
Name			Date.....	
Author	Title	Topic	Vol., chap., and pages read	No. pages

--	--	--

In another school, this form is used:

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY — REQUIRED READING			
Name			
CourseWeek ending.....192...			
Author and titles of Work	Vol. and pp.	No. of pages	Time in minutes

<p>Total number of pp. for week.....</p> <p>Total time for week (in min.).....</p>			

A somewhat different form used in another school is:

COLLATERAL READING			
Class.....			
Name	Date.....192 ..		
Author	Title of Book	Vol.	Pages

Report on
(Give points not found in text book)

The following extracts from the returns are indicative of other methods teachers employ to check up collateral reading, used frequently in addition to the report forms listed above.

"This term," writes one, "each student has been asked to read one hour per week on a certain assigned topic; to report in class orally, or to hand in a brief written report. Besides that, each one read a biography of some famous American and wrote a review of it following an assigned outline." "For American history classes," says another, "we have a conference on Fridays, and each one shares the best things in the week's reading. Some read more than a thousand pages." "I have followed the plan of assigning individual topics and calling for reports in class," writes a third, "allowing the other members to take notes, and holding them responsible also." Other methods are: "oral book reports on approved books," "a brief of the book read," "one-page written reports of the week's reading," "written answers to questions," "floor talks," "term papers," "short summaries," "special written tests," "short papers on assigned topics," "one question in every test."

"My reading assignments," writes one teacher in an especially suggestive comment, "are made from day to day and are made a part of the lesson assignment. They deal only with specific points that throw light on the lesson, are definite and short. They are discussed in recitation in their logical connection. I have tried the method of requiring a certain number of pages of reading a week and have abandoned it,

frankly admitting that it does not accomplish the purposes sought. In my experience, such a plan does not really function in college, even. Required reading for English work in high school is not a howling success and similar requirements for history are less so. Pupils as a rule will not read in a true sense ten pages of the usual sort of historical account. Recognizing that, give them an explicit reference on a particular point, both of which are important enough to be worth the effort to learn, and they will do that and do it conscientiously. Weave this into its appropriate place in the recitation and there is no problem of checking up reading."

Money expended for history books. The money expended annually for history books in the different states and among different schools in the same state varies widely. In Illinois, in the schools giving information on this point whose pupils number less than 500, the amount expended every year varies from zero to a maximum of \$200; to this statement there is one exception, for one school of 460 pupils reports a yearly expenditure for books on history of from \$400 to \$500. In the schools containing between 500 and 1500 pupils the figures run from zero to \$400 annually, while the few schools which number over 1500 pupils report an expenditure of from \$30 to \$300. In Wisconsin the money expended for history books in the schools which reported runs from zero to \$100; a considerable number give \$50 as the annual sum. In Kansas such expenditures vary from "none for years" to \$500 annually.

In Ohio the amount spent each year for history varies, according to the returns, from zero to \$400 annually. In the schools which spend money for books the range is from \$10 to \$200, where the pupils number less than 500; and from "very little" to \$400, where the number of pupils exceeds 500. Eight schools reported "none" or "very little"; twenty-two either gave no information, or used such vague expressions as "not much," "indefinite," "no set amount," and "varies." One Ohio school reports that it "depends on city library and teachers' private libraries." An Illinois teacher writes, "Personally between fifty and one hundred dollars, including my own duplicated extracts." This comment is almost equalled by a Michigan teacher who states, "I find history coming last when money is to be spent. I have filled in this year with my own books. "

Of the 30 Indiana schools which reported on this question, 6 spend no money or "very little;" 6 spend from \$10 to \$15; and the remaining schools say the amount varies from year to year, and name sums which range from \$10 up to \$225. In the amount of money spent for history books, Oklahoma appears to be the banner state among those surveyed. In schools of less than 500 pupils the range is from \$20 to \$300; in schools

between 500 and 1500, it runs from \$150 to \$300; and one school of more than 2000 pupils reports an expenditure of \$500 annually.

Practice in duplicating books. Practice in duplicating books varies widely. In more than two-thirds of the Missouri and the Nebraska secondary schools which reported, titles are duplicated; and in one-half or more of the schools which sent returns from Indiana, Wisconsin, and Kansas, a similar practice prevails. Of the thirty-three Oklahoma schools included in the report, fifteen state that it is their practice to duplicate books, twelve say they do not duplicate, and six either give no information on the subject or answer in an indefinite fashion. Of fifty-seven Michigan schools, twenty duplicate titles, eighteen do not, and nineteen fail to state their practice, or give such indefinite answers as "depends," "some," and "when necessary." In Illinois the proportion is about the same; of the 126 schools which reported, 50 purchase duplicates, 35 do not, 22 ignore the question, and 19 give such answers as "not often," "not entirely," "partly," "seldom," "if possible," and "sometimes."

In Iowa, on the other hand, the prevailing practice seems adverse to duplication: seventeen out of fifty-four schools report that they do not duplicate titles and six reply "not often," "no special policy," "not always," "not much," and "partly"; only twelve—less than one-fourth of the schools—give an affirmative answer. A similar situation prevails apparently in Minnesota; out of twenty-five schools, seven report duplication, while twelve reply in the negative. The prevailing usage in Ohio, likewise, is adverse to duplication; only thirteen of the fifty-nine schools which reported practice it, whereas twenty-two do not observe it. From the figures at hand it appears therefore that about two-thirds of the schools duplicate the books they find most useful while the remainder follow the practice of most libraries and merely multiply titles.

In the schools in which books are duplicated the number of copies bought ranges from one for every two pupils taking the subject to one for every thirty pupils. One Illinois school with a student body of 1200, it is true, reports that it purchases one copy for every pupil, and then adds, "when not possible, then for every two or three." Evidently this school has never found it possible to secure a copy for every pupil, since elsewhere in the questionnaire it appears that, while 103 pupils take American history, 40 copies is the largest number of duplicates of any one book in the school library.

In most of the schools the common practice seems to be to buy one copy for every three to seven pupils. Of the fifteen Oklahoma schools which duplicate books, eleven, for example, purchase them in such quantities. Twelve of the twenty-four Wisconsin schools which duplicate

books follow a similar practice. Like results appear in the returns from Michigan, Nebraska, Arkansas, Iowa, Indiana, and Illinois.

Selection of history books. In the selection of history books, the practice in many schools is to coöperate with the other departments, especially with the English department. In Oklahoma all of the schools which reported, except two, state that they coöperate with other departments, usually with the department of English; of the two exceptions, one reports that selections are made by "librarian with faculty" and the other says "English department will not coöperate this year." In Wisconsin, sixteen of the forty-six schools reporting state that they, too, select books by coöperating with the other departments, but fourteen schools do not report any coöperation. In some cases, selections of books are made by the "high-school librarian," "school board," "principal," "superintendent," and frequently by the individual history teachers. In these cases, it is interesting and encouraging to notice that in many instances selections are based on "book reviews in periodicals," "university lists," "state courses of study," "Tryon's list," and "lists of historical societies."

Relations with public libraries. The relations of the schools with the public libraries in their communities are instructive and suggestive. In every state except Arkansas, Tennessee, and Oklahoma, the majority of the schools make use of the public library, and the schools reporting from Arkansas and Tennessee are too few to warrant any conclusions. In an encouraging number of cases the public librarians indicate a willingness to coöperate with the schools by keeping books on reserve for high-school pupils and by loaning books to the high school. Usually such books are furnished in quantities of less than ten. In a few instances books are loaned in quantities "up to fifty" and even "100 copies." In a number of schools the school library is a branch of the public library.

The most useful history books. In outlining its work, the committee felt it could do nothing of greater service than to discover the books which teachers of history have found most valuable for high-school use. With this in view the following question was included in the questionnaire: "Name at least ten books, if possible, which you have found most useful for: (a) intensive reading (study or information); (b) extensive reading (atmosphere or enjoyment, reading as distinguished from study). The list for extensive reading should include the books which are most popular with students." Books in the fields of American history and modern European history were asked for.

In the list below are given, in the order of their utility as shown by the returns, all the books in the field of American history which were mentioned thirty or more times as best for intensive reading (study or information).

AMERICAN HISTORY BOOKS USEFUL FOR INTENSIVE READING

Author	Title	Number of times mentioned
1. Hart,	The formation of the union ³	123
2. Wilson,	Division and reunion	122
3. Thwaites,	The colonies	112
4. Fiske,	The critical period of American history	97
5. Hart,	American history told by contemporaries	81
6. Elson,	History of the United States	58
7. {	{ Bassett, Short history of the United States } Channing, Students' history of the United States }	53
8. {	{ McMaster, History of the people of the United States } Burgess, The middle period }	51
9. Hart,	American nation series ⁴	49
10. Bogart,	Economic history of the United States	46
11. {	{ Rhodes, History of the United States } Schouler, History of the United States }	42
12. Coman,	Industrial history of the United States	40
13. Walker,	The making of the nation	37
14. Muzzey,	Readings in American history	34
15. {	{ McLaughlin, Readings in American history } Muzzey, American history }	33
16. {	{ Wilson, History of the American people } Fiske, Discovery of America }	32
17. Bryce,	The American commonwealth	31
18. American statesmen series ⁵		30

Wide disagreement appeared as to the best books in American history for extensive reading (atmosphere or enjoyment, or reading as distin-

³ In twenty-two instances Hart's *Epochs of American history* was named. These were all credited to Hart's *Formation of the union*, but the teachers who thus reported may have had in mind the entire series of three volumes. Following the same practice, the questionnaire which mentioned Thwaites' *Epochs of American history* was credited to Thwaites' *The colonies*, and the one which named Wilson's *Epochs of American history* was added to Wilson's *Division and reunion*.

⁴ It was difficult to tabulate series like *The American nation* since some of the questionnaires listed it as a whole while others named particular volumes. For example, in the case of *The American nation*, there were forty-nine instances in which the series as a whole was given; while, in addition, separate volumes were listed as follows: Bassett, *Federalist system*, two; Channing, *Jeffersonian system*, three; Cheyney, *European background of American history*, nine; Dewey, *National problems*, six; Garrison, *Westward extension*, three; Hart, *Slavery and abolition*, two; Hosmer, *Outcome of the civil war*, one; Howard, *Preliminaries of the revolution*, two; Latané, *America as a world power*, nine; Ogg, *National progress*, six; Sparks, *National development*, four; Turner, *Rise of the new west*, thirteen; Van Tyne, *American revolution*, six.

⁵ See note 7.

guished from study). In many instances the extensive references were practically as heavy as the intensive; one teacher, in fact, declared there was and should be no difference between the two. Nothing could show more clearly the need for attention to this neglected phase of history teaching. The following list includes all books mentioned fifteen times, or more.

BOOKS USEFUL FOR EXTENSIVE READING IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Author	Title	Number of times mentioned
1.	Roosevelt, <i>Winning of the west</i>	58
2.	Hart, <i>American history as told by contemporaries</i>	46
3.	Churchill, <i>The crisis</i> ⁶	39
4.	Morse, <i>American statesmen series</i> ⁷	36
5.	Elson, <i>Sidelights on American history</i>	32
6.	{ Earle, <i>Home life in colonial days</i> Fiske, <i>The critical period of American history</i> Sparks, <i>Expansion of the American people</i> McMaster, <i>History of the people of the United States</i> }	23
7.	Fiske, <i>Old Virginia and her neighbors</i> ⁸	22
8.	Sparks, <i>Men who made the nation</i>	19
9.	{ Parkman, <i>The Oregon trail</i> Rhodes, <i>History of the United States</i> Parkman, <i>Works</i> ⁹ Hart, <i>American nation series</i> }	18
10.	Fiske, <i>The discovery of America</i>	17
11.	Hart, <i>Source book of American history</i>	16
12.	{ Fiske, <i>American revolution</i> Wilson, <i>History of the American people</i> }	15

⁶ In addition, Churchill's "works" are listed two times; his *Richard Carvel* and *The Crossing* are both given twelve times. There are many other historical novels included in the questionnaires, although none of them except Churchill's *Crisis* are named by more than 14 schools. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's cabin* is listed fourteen times.

⁷ The difficulty in tabulation mentioned in connection with the intensive list appears again in the extensive list in the case of books published in a series. Many of the questionnaires cite individual biographies in the *American statesmen* series and individual titles in the *American nation* series; others mention the series as a whole. The tabulation given above includes only the latter.

⁸ Fiske's "Colonial series" is also listed 4 times and his *Works* 7 times.

⁹ In addition to his *Works* and *The Oregon trail*, as given above, the following volumes by Parkman are listed: *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, seven; *Half century of conflict*, two; *The Jesuits in America*, one; *La Salle and the discovery of the great west*, ten; *Montcalm and Wolfe*, nine; *Pioneers of France in the new world*, five; *Stories of French and English in America*, six; *Struggle for a continent*, ten.

The leading books for intensive reading in European history according to the returns are ranked below in the order of their utility as indicated in the questionnaires. All books mentioned as many as twenty-five times are included. Since some teachers limited their selection to works dealing with modern European history (according to the intention of the committee), while others included those treating various phases of the history of the last fifteen hundred years, the results are not so valuable as in the case of American history, where the question was interpreted with greater unanimity.

BOOKS USEFUL FOR INTENSIVE READING IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

<i>Author</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Number of times mentioned</i>
1. Robinson,	Readings in European history	98
2. Hazen,	Europe since 1815	93
3. Robinson and Beard,	Development of modern Europe	58
4. Green,	Short history of the English people	54
5. {	{ Robinson and Beard, Readings in modern European history	} 42
	{ Hazen, Modern European history	
6. Henderson,	Short history of Germany	40
7. Cheyney,	Social and industrial history of England	36
8. Lowell,	Eve of the French revolution	33
9. Mathews,	French revolution	32
10. Adams,	Growth of the French nation	30
11. Hayes,	Political and social history of modern Europe	29
12. {	{ Cheyney, Short history of England	} 28
	{ Robinson and Beard, Outlines of European history, part 2	
13. Schwill,	Political history of modern Europe	27
14. Cheyney,	Readings in English history	26
15. Robinson,	History of western Europe	25

It is worthy of note that no book in this list deals with the history of commerce. Day's *History of commerce* was mentioned only five times; Herrick's *History of commerce and industry*, but six.

The list for extensive reading in European history is very unsatisfactory. Many of the questionnaires included no returns on the subject and there was wide variation among those that did. It is, perhaps, worth noting that Abbott, Mühlbach, and Henty received frequent mention; it will also be seen that more than one-third of the list consists of historical novels. The tabulation includes all books given as many as ten times.

BOOKS FOR EXTENSIVE READING IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

<i>Author</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Number of times mentioned</i>
1. Dickens,	Tale of two cities	36
2. Robinson,	Readings in European history	33

3. Carlyle, French revolution	22
4. { Green, Short history of the English people } { Scott, Ivanhoe ¹⁰ }	19
5. Lowell, Eve of the French revolution	18
6. { Hugo, Les Misérables } { Cheyney, Social and industrial history of England }	15
7. Robinson and Beard, Readings in modern European history	14
8. { Davis, Roots of the war } { Scott, Kenilworth ¹¹ } { Hazen, Europe since 1815 }	13
9. Mathews, French revolution	12
10. { Johnston, Napoleon } { Davis, Friar of Wittenberg } { Scott, Talisman ¹² }	10

Conclusions of the committee. The conclusions and recommendations of the committee, in the light of this survey, are as follows:

1. Effective history teaching is impossible without an adequate supply of collateral reading material. This conclusion is based on the fact that there are certain fundamental values to be secured from the study of history that cannot be attained without a considerable use of collateral reading. These values are: a permanent taste for historical literature, a knowledge of how to use books, an acquaintance with the diverse forms in which historical materials are recorded, and the cultivation of an independent and critical attitude toward modern social and political problems.

To attain these ends it is necessary for students to do certain things which necessitate the use of books. Chief among these are: to consult books of history other than the text in preparing daily lessons, to study certain topics with greater thoroughness than the text permits, to prepare brief historical papers on assigned subjects, to read some of the vivid sources as well as some historical fiction, and to come in contact with the writings of at least a few of the great historians. It is obvious that a student cannot do these things with a single book as his only tool.

Moreover, when the work in history is confined to a single text, instruction too often becomes a mere memoriter process; and the pupil grows weary with repeated requirements for outlines, summaries, and digests. The ordinary high-school text in history, as Judd has pointed out, consists of approximately 600 pages, much of which is usually of

¹⁰ Scott's *Works* are also listed twice. Others of his writings which receive minor mention are: *Lady of the lake*, one; *Woodstock*, one; *Guy Mannering*, one; *Anne of Geierstein*, one; *Quentin Durward*, six; *Rob Roy*, one; *Marmion*, one.

¹¹ See note 10.

¹² See note 10.

such a highly condensed and abstract character as to be unintelligible to the average boy or girl. It is, moreover, so limited in amount that it can be read aloud by most high-school pupils in from forty to forty-five hours, or read silently three times in from forty-five to fifty hours, silent reading usually being three times as rapid as oral reading. Thus, a book which is intended for a year's work, affords material fitted at best, so far as quantity is concerned, for two or three months' work. To illuminate and vivify the encyclopaedic pages of the text, therefore, as well as to give pupils a quantity of material worthy of their efforts, an adequate supply of collateral reading is essential.

2. The books available in all but a few of the best equipped schools are insufficient for effective supplementary reading in history. As one member of the committee puts it, "There seems to be an appalling scarcity of available laboratory material for history teaching." The questionnaires are filled with such comments as "impossible to do as much collateral reading as we would like for lack of books," "no school library," "little collateral reading due to lack of equipment," "not enough books," "no duplicates." Without duplication of usable books, in fact, it is impossible to do effective work in supplementary reading. Books which are intended for intensive use should be provided in such quantities as to furnish one copy for every three to eight pupils; those intended for extensive use should be supplied so as to provide one copy for every eight to fifteen pupils.

History teachers are, in the majority of cases, too modest in their demands for library equipment.¹³ Elaborately equipped domestic science, botany, physics, and chemistry laboratories, and even more elaborately furnished manual training and shop rooms, are by no means as scarce in good high schools as well-equipped history libraries. History teachers must convince administrative officers that their subject can no more be taught effectively without equipment than can physics, domestic science, manual training, botany, or chemistry.

3. Many titles in high-school libraries are ill-suited for high-school pupils. Among these may be mentioned such works as Ridpath's *History of the United States*, Johnson's *Readings in American constitutional history*, Burgess' *Reconstruction and the constitution*, and the *Cambridge modern history*. Nor is it wise, in the judgment of the committee, to

¹³ In this connection, attention is called to the general statement of standards of high-school library administration and equipment as found in C. C. Certain, *A standard high-school library organization for accredited secondary schools of different sizes* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1917), 16, 23, 24. This report was adopted by the department of secondary education of the National educational association and has been approved by the committee on education of the American library association.

make a general practice of using other high-school texts as collateral reading; as a rule, they too are condensed and abstract and furnish little more than a rehash of what the pupil has already read in his own text.

4. The numerous requests for lists of books, as well as the character of many of the titles mentioned in the questionnaires, lead the committee to believe that there is a wide interest and serious need for suggestions as to the works best suited for collateral reading in history. To aid in meeting this need, the committee ventures to recommend two lists of books as comprising works which in its judgment are adapted for intensive reading in American history and modern European history. In justification of these lists, the committee offers four arguments: first, the books selected provide material for the economic, social, and political phases of the fields of history to be studied; second, they are in general written in a style intelligible and interesting to high-school pupils; third, they are scholarly and accurate; and, fourth, they are comparatively inexpensive — a matter which is vital, especially if, as the committee hopes, the books recommended are to be purchased in duplicate.

LIST OF BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR INTENSIVE READING IN AMERICAN HISTORY

1. Thwaites, R. G., *The colonies*
2. Hart, A. B., *Formation of the union*
3. Wilson, Woodrow, *Division and reunion*
4. Bogart, E. L., *Economic history of the United States*
5. Hart, A. B., *Social and economic forces in American history*
6. Halsey, F. W., *Great epochs in American history*
7. Muzzey, D. S., *Readings in American history*
8. Elson, H. W., *History of the United States of America*
9. Fish, C. R., *The development of American nationality*
10. Haworth, Paul, *The United States in our own times*

LIST OF BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR INTENSIVE READING IN
MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

1. Lowell, E. J., *Eve of the French revolution*
2. Herrick, C. A., *History of commerce and industry*
3. Webster, Hutton, *Readings in medieval and modern history*
4. Ogg, F. A., *Economic development of modern Europe*
5. Hayes, C. J. H., *Political and social history of modern Europe*
6. Robinson, J. H., and Beard, C. A., *Development of modern Europe*
7. Hazen, C. D., *Modern European history*
8. Schapiro, J. S., *Modern and contemporary European history*
9. Davis, W. S., *The roots of the war*
10. Usher, R. G., *Story of the great war*

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EXTENSIVE READING

Judging from the returns, many teachers interpret extensive reading to mean the perusal of such heavy, detailed, all-inclusive works as the *Historian's history of the world* or the *Cambridge modern history*. In the opinion of the committee, however, such reading should rather be of the sort which is easily within the grasp of pupils, which is written in a way to appeal to their interests and emotions, and which will give them a feeling of the reality of historical times and persons. It should, in short, consist of fascinating stories, biographies, diaries, source extracts, and historical novels.

Among the books dealing with American history which the committee recommends as useful for providing the mental background just mentioned are the following: Chestnut, *A diary of Dixie*; Charnwood, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*; Dana, *Two years before the mast*; Drinkwater, *Abraham Lincoln*; Earle, *Child Life in colonial days*; Ford, *The true George Washington*; Bassett, *The story of lumber*; Brooks, *The story of cotton*; Larcom, *A New England girlhood*; Russell, *My diary, north and south*; Brady, *The true Andrew Jackson*; Ripley, *Social life in old New Orleans*; Elson, *Sidelights on American history*; Nicolay, *Boy's life of Lincoln*; Hagedorn, *Boy's life of Roosevelt*; Laut, *Pathfinders of the west*; Hawthorn, *George Washington, farmer*; Lodge and Roosevelt, *Heroes of American history*; Sanford, *Story of agriculture in the United States*; Roosevelt, *Episodes in the winning of the west*; various volumes in the works of Parkman and Fiske, selected passages from McMaster and Rhodes; and such historical novels as Churchill, *The crisis*; Johnston, *Lewis Rand*; Hough, *Fifty-four forty or fight*; Wister, *The Virginian*; Garland, *A little Norsk*; Ford, *The honorable Peter Sterling*; and Thompson, *Alice of old Vincennes*.

For extensive reading in modern European history, the following titles are recommended: Simpson, *Rise of Louis Napoleon*; Mathews, *French revolution*; Rose, *Life of Napoleon I*; Smiles, *Lives of the inventors*; Green, *Short history of the English people*; Henderson, *Short history of Germany*; Wheeler, *Boy's life of Napoleon*; Peat, *Private Peat*; Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the thousand*; Motley, *Life of Peter the great*; Southey, *Life of Nelson*; Tappan, *In days Victorian*; Wallace, *Wonderful century*; and such novels as Reade, *Cloister and the hearth*; Kingsley, *Westward ho!*; Blackmore, *Lorna Doone*; Dickens, *Little Dorrit*; Davis, *Friar of Wittenberg*; Eliot, *Silas Marner*; and Thackeray, *Henry Esmond*.

5. Close coöperation between secondary schools and public libraries is very desirable both in helping solve the problem of an adequate supply of books and in acquainting pupils with the facilities and attractions

of their own local library. Such coöperation may be brought about in several ways: (1) the public library may withdraw from circulation and place upon a reserved shelf such books as a history class needs at a certain time; (2) the library may send selected books to the school, where they can be used more conveniently by the pupils; (3) the two institutions may coöperate in ordering new books, so as to avoid needless duplication of titles. Of course, all three plans may be used.

In one city the public librarian made an exhaustive bibliography covering a large period of history, from which the students derived references for the study of special topics; thus a class of sixty-five members was assisted in finding materials. In another instance the public library employs an experienced teacher to serve at the library during the evening for the purpose of assisting students in history and other subjects; such a plan is admirable.

6. Collateral reading must be regularly checked to be most effective. It is the belief of the committee that a method that most closely relates informational or intensive reading to the regular work as it moves along from day to day is best. To accomplish this, collateral reading of the intensive sort should be assigned definitely with exact page references so as to constitute an integral part of the required work; it should then have a definite place in the recitation. For the checking of atmospheric or extensive reading, a card report plus an occasional day devoted to the discussion of such material is recommended.

For the committee,

HOWARD C. HILL, *Chairman*

QUESTIONNAIRE

To the teacher of history :

It has long been recognized that the skillful teaching of history necessitates a generous use of collateral reading. There is, however, no general agreement concerning the reading matter which is most suitable for high-school pupils. In order to render service in this important matter, the Mississippi valley historical association has appointed a committee on the standardization of library equipment. This committee feels that the best way to approach the problem is to secure information from history teachers who are in direct touch with high-school pupils. With this in view you are earnestly requested to fill out this questionnaire and send it as soon as possible to Howard C. Hill, School of education, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

1. Name of school
2. Name and position of person answering questionnaire
3. Number of pupils in school
- 4 a. Number of pupils taking American history
- b. Which year of high school?
- 5 a. Time devoted to American history (in weeks)
- b. Time devoted to modern European history (in weeks)
- 6 a. Textbook in American history
- b. Textbook in modern European history
7. Number of titles of books in school library available for collateral reading including books of historical biography:
 - a. American history
 - b. Modern European history
8. List the books you have in duplicate and give number of each:
 - a. American history
 - b. Modern European history

(If necessary, use another sheet to complete list.)

9. Name at least ten books, if possible, which you have found most useful for: (a) intensive reading (study or information), (b) extensive reading (atmosphere or enjoyment, reading as distinguished from study). The list for extensive reading should include the books which are most popular with pupils.

AMERICAN HISTORY

- a. Intensive reading (10 books). b. Extensive reading (10 books)

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

a. Intensive reading (10 books) b. Extensive reading (10 books)

10. How much money does your school spend each year for history books?
11. What is your method of selecting books for the high-school library?
Do you coöperate with other departments, e. g., the English department?
12. Is it your policy to buy in duplicate?.....If so, will you fill the following blank with the proper number? We usually buy one copy for every.....pupils.
13. Are pupils sent to the public library?.....If so, are books kept on reserve for high-school use especially?.....Does the public library loan books to the school?.....Does the library furnish these books in quantities of 10 or more?.....
14. How much collateral reading is usually done per week? Indicate by pages or otherwise.
 - a. American history
 - b. Modern European history
15. How do you check up your pupils on their collateral reading?
 - a. Note book
 - b. Card reports
(If these are used, describe their character, or better, send samples.)
 - c. Quiz (oral)
 - d. Written tests
 - e. Recitations
 - f.
16. Add any comment you wish about collateral reading.

THE AMERICAN POSITION ON THE GERMAN REVOLU-
TION OF 1848

By R. C. McGrane, *University of Cincinnati*

[Printed in the *Historical outlook*, 11:333.]

THE SOLDIER VOTE OF IOWA IN THE ELECTION
OF 1888

By Donald L. McMurray, *University of Iowa*

[Printed in the *Iowa journal of history and politics*, 18:335.]

THE PILGRIM AND THE MELTING POT

By Carl Russell Fish, *University of Wisconsin*

[Printed in the *Mississippi valley historical review*, 7:187.]

JONATHAN CARVER AND THE CARVER LAND GRANT

By Milo M. Quaife, *State historical society of Wisconsin*

[Printed in the *Mississippi valley historical review*, 7:3.]

LINCOLN IN WISCONSIN

By Julius Olson, *University of Wisconsin*

[Printed in the *Wisconsin magazine of history*, 4:44.]

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